Palestine Exploration Quarterly

PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

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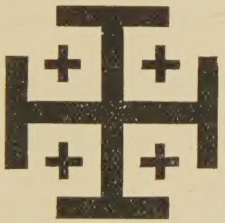
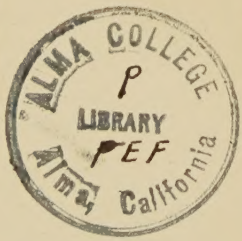
Quarterly Statement

FOR 1907.





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THE

PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

NOTES AND NEWS.

Mr. Macalister arrived in Jerusalem on November 15th, after some delay by quarantine regulations. Having called on the acting Consul, Mr. Freeman, he also visited certain caves, inscriptions, etc., which had been found since he was last in Jerusalem, and of which we shall shortly have further reports. He has now gone for a short visit to Constantinople, as indicated in our October issue. There is every hope that on his return he may be in a position to renew his explorations. In the meantime there is much matter for investigation at Jerusalem.

Writing in September last Mr. Hanauer mentions that "The Greeks have been erecting a large new building on the site of the old bath, just inside the St. Stephen's Gate." It appears that in digging the foundations they found "a large cave, at present full of earth, but which will be rendered accessible in due time." We are expecting a full report on this when it is cleared out.

Mr. Macalister, writing from Constantinople, expresses warm admiration for the great work done by Hamdy Bey in the arrangement and organisation of the Imperial Museum there, which is rapidly becoming one of the most important in Europe. A large addition is being made to the building, and this, which will shortly be ready for occupation, will contain objects found during our

excavations in Palestine. These will then, for the first time, be properly exposed to view.

Dr. D'Erf Wheeler gives a report in *Home Words* upon the work of the English Mission Hospital for the previous quarter. The pressure of work has been very great in spite of the regulations enforced to admit only genuine cases of illness. It has been necessary to refuse applicants for beds and cots almost daily; it was impossible to meet all the demands entailed by house visiting and the out-patients, and many came as early as 2 A.M. to purchase tickets for admission. Dr. Wheeler observes "we do not know how we are going to meet these ever-increasing demands in the future; of course, the more patients we see and treat, the better opportunity the Jews have of witnessing one of the best and most practical sides of Christianity." The returns for the quarter are:—

In-patients	515
Out-patients	7,576
Home visits	2,157
Dressings	7,072
Siloam	500
Prescriptions	13,058 (recipes, 25,810).

We learn from *Home Words* (Jerusalem) that on the 28th of September the Right Reverend the Bishop installed the Rev. T. Wolters as Canon of the Collegiate Church of St. George the Martyr. The Bishop referred to Canon Wolter's long association with Palestine, and to his well-known learning in many branches, specially in such as were connected with his work as a missionary in this country. He also mentioned the interesting fact that Canon Wolters had married a daughter of Bishop Gobat, and that three generations of that former bishop of the diocese were represented in the congregation.

The discovery is announced of Greek inscriptions in the property belonging to the Greeks, and just to the south of the place opposite Gethsemane, where, according to a tradition not older than the fourteenth century, St. Stephen was stoned. Sir John Maundeville, who visited Jerusalem in 1325–6, mentions a church of

St. Stephen in this neighbourhood. The inscriptions are said to be three in number, and to refer to the said church.

In the Report of the Valletta Museum it is stated that, among the work of the last year, various excavations were carried out which resulted in the discovery of fragments of painted pottery (1800-1500 B.C.). On the eastern limits of Zabbar trial pits were sunk in a circular field which looked very much like an amphitheatre. Bones and teeth of elephants, etc., were found in a semi-fossilized state but well preserved. The Museum at Valletta was opened on 24th May, 1905, and is well worth visiting.

In *Man*, August, 1906, Prof. Flinders Petrie gives a concise account of the bearing of his recent excavations upon the problem of the Hyksos. Large numbers of Hyksos scarabs are constantly found at Tell el-Yehudiyeh twenty miles north of Cairo, and careful research has brought to light a number of interesting results. A large earthwork over a quarter of a mile square was entirely un-Egyptian: its makers appear to have been on about the same level of culture as the later nomads of Asia. They came from an open timberless country, and their weapon was the bow. They had no domestic pottery, but, like other nomads, used vessels of skin and wood. This encampment dates from before the XVIIIth dynasty: the abundance of scarabs of the Hyksos age and the rarity of earlier remains show that the foreign builders were the Hyksos themselves. The details bear out the account which Manetho gives of the city of Avaris. Prof. Petrie concludes that the Hyksos, "an active race of archers living by the chase in the back of Syria, perhaps in the Hauran and Palmyra region, fought their way into Egypt, much as the Arabs did in the later invasion after Muhammed."

In the course of the German excavations at Asshur, a black marble head was found with an inscription stating that Shalmaneser had brought it from the temple of the deity Šêr of Melaha, the residence of Hazael of the land of Damascus.

Some while ago a number of antiquities were found in the region of Acre and Mount Carmel. Among them was a lintel of a sepulchral grotto bearing the name Mandêmos (see *Q.S.*, 1905, p. 276). This, as Mr. Joseph Offord points out, is for Manaêmos, the Greek equivalent of the Hebrew Menahem, which Josephus renders Μανάϊμος.

"Golgotha and the Holy Sepulchre," the last work of the late Major-General Sir Charles Wilson, K.C.B., K.C.M.G., F.R.S., D.C.L., LL.D., etc., is now ready. In this work the late Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund has brought together for the first time all the evidence which the most exhaustive research enabled him to collect bearing on the subject of these Holy Sites; and probably no man living had at once so intimate a knowledge of all investigations in the modern Jerusalem, and so complete an acquaintance with what has been written about the Sites from the time of Constantine onwards. The price of the work (demy 8vo) is 6*s.*, by post 6*s.* 4*d.*, and cheques should be made payable to the order of George Armstrong, Acting Secretary to the Fund, and crossed "Coutts & Co."

The first edition of Mr. Macalister's work, "Bible Sidelights from the Mounds of Gezer," is already sold out, and a second edition is in preparation. It has been written to show how the results of digging in Palestine should appeal not only to the scientific anthropologist or archæologist but also to the Bible student who has no special interest in these sciences. The book contains a brief synopsis of the work of the Fund from its foundation to the present and a description of the site of Gezer, and its history.

In 1870 Messrs. Thos. Cook and Son were appointed by the Khedive to act as the Agents of his Government for passenger traffic on the Nile, and they have issued the 36th Annual Pamphlet of their arrangements. The experience of that lengthy period is made manifest in the new pamphlet by the luxury of the arrangements and the added facilities afforded for travellers in Egypt and the Sudan. No fewer than eleven of Messrs. Cook's steamers are announced to work the various services between Cairo, Assuan, and the Second Cataract during the coming season, while, by an agreement with the Egyptian and Sudan Railways, combined

steamer and rail tickets are issued, which will enable Upper Egypt to be visited by those limited in time far more expeditiously than by the leisurely steamer alone. Beside through bookings to Khartoum and Uganda, Messrs. Cook announce several excursions from Khartoum by steamer on the Blue and White Niles. The arrangements for inspecting the many architectural wonders which, with the exquisite climate, have made the Nile Valley the winter playground of the *élite*, are a model of experienced organisation.

The *Painted Tombs of Marissa*, recently published by the Fund, is now recognized as a very important contribution to the history and archæology of Palestine in the last centuries before our era. It may be mentioned that the leaflet containing the result of the investigations by Mr. Macalister at the Tombs last October has been published and can be had on application to the Acting Secretary by those who possess the volume.

It may be well to mention that plans and photographs alluded to in the reports from Jerusalem and elsewhere cannot all be published, but they are preserved in the office of the Fund, where they may be seen by subscribers. Those which were sent by Mr. Macalister illustrating the excavations at Gezer and which were not reproduced in his quarterly report, have been held over for the final memoir.

The attention of subscribers and others is called to *A Table of the Christian and Mohammedan Eras*, from July 15th, A.D. 622, the date of the Hejira, to A.D. 1900, price by post, 7*d*. Also to the *Meteorological Observations at Jerusalem*, with tables and diagrams by the late Mr. James Glaisher, F.R.S. Tourists and all desirous of accurate information about the climate of Jerusalem should not fail to send for a copy, price 2*s*. 6*d*.

The attention of subscribers is also called to a work by Sir Charles Warren, entitled "The Ancient Cubit and our Weights and Measures." He brings evidence to show that all weights and measures (except those of the metrical system) are derived from one source—the double-cubit cubed of Babylonia. See below, p. 182 *sqq*.

The Museum and Library of the Palestine Exploration Fund at Jerusalem are in the Bishop's Buildings, near the Tombs of the Kings, where the use of a room has been kindly permitted by the Rev. Dr. Blyth, Bishop in Jerusalem and the East. The Museum is open daily, except Sundays, and the Honorary Secretary, Dr. D'Erf Wheeler, will give all information necessary.

The "Flora of Syria, Palestine, and Sinai," by the Rev. George E. Post, M.D., Beirût, Syria, containing descriptions of all the Phaenogams and Acrogens of the region, and illustrated by 441 woodcuts, may be had at the office of the Fund, price 21*s.*

The income of the Society from September 20th to December 18th 1906, was—from Annual Subscriptions and Donations, including Local Societies, £643 15*s.* 2*d.*; from sales of publications, &c., £104 11*s.* 3*d.*; from Lectures, £4 2*s.* 1*d.*; making in all, £752 8*s.* 6*d.* The expenditure during the same period was £696 17*s.* 1*d.* On December 18th the balance in the bank was £345 5*s.* 9*d.*

Subscribers who have not yet paid, will greatly facilitate the Committee's efforts by sending their subscriptions in early, and thus save the expense of sending out reminders, the outgoings on the excavations at Gezer having been a heavy drain on their funds. The special donations during the quarter have been received from :—

James Hilton, Esq.	£20	0	0
James Melrose, Esq.	£5	0	0
Mrs. C. J. Chambers Hodgetts ...	£5	0	0

Subscribers to the Fund are reminded that, whilst the receipt of every subscription and contribution is promptly acknowledged by the Acting Secretary, they will henceforth be published annually, and not quarterly. A complete List of Subscribers and Subscriptions for 1905 was published with the April number.

Subscribers in U.S.A. to the work of the Fund will please note that they can procure copies of any of the publications from the Rev. Professor Theo. F. Wright, Honorary General Secretary to the Fund, 42, Quincy Street, Cambridge, Mass.

The Committee will be glad to communicate with ladies and gentlemen willing to help the Fund as Honorary Secretaries.

Subscribers and others may be reminded that the new Raised Map of Palestine, constructed from the Surveys of the Palestine Exploration Fund by the Acting Secretary, is ready. It is on the scale of 6¼ miles to the inch and measures 3′ 6″ × 2′ 6″. It has already been used with great success by Professors of Old Testament history, and by teachers in Sunday Schools, and may be especially recommended for large classes of students. On view at the office of the Fund; further particulars may be had on application.

In order to make up complete sets of the *Quarterly Statement*, the Committee will be very glad to receive any back numbers which subscribers do not wish to preserve.

A complete set of the *Quarterly Statements*, 1869–1905, containing the early letters, with an Index, 1869–1892, bound in the Palestine Exploration Fund cases, can be had. Price on application to the Acting Secretary, 38, Conduit Street, W.

Subscribers of one guinea and upwards will please note that they can still obtain a set, consisting of the "Survey of Eastern Palestine" (Colonel Conder): "Archæological Researches in Palestine," in two volumes (Clermont-Ganneau); "Flora and Fauna of Sinai, Petra, and the Wady 'Arabah" (Hart), for £7 7*s*., but the price has been increased to the public to £9 9*s*. The price of single volumes to the public has also been increased. Applications should be made to the Acting Secretary.

The price of a complete set of the translations published by the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, in 13 volumes, with general index, bound in cloth, is £10 10*s*. A catalogue describing the contents of each volume can be had on application to the Secretary, 38, Conduit Street, W.

The Museum at the office of the Fund, 38, Conduit Street (a few doors from Bond Street), is open to visitors every week-day from 10 o'clock till 5, except Saturdays, when it is closed at 2 p.m.

Photographs of the late Dr. Schick's models (1) of the Temple of Solomon, (2) of the Herodian Temple, (3) of the Haram Area and Justinian's Church, and (4) of the Haram Area as it is at present, have been received at the office of the Fund. The four photographs, with an explanation by Dr. Schick, can be purchased by applying to the Acting Secretary, 38, Conduit Street, W.

Branch Associations of the Bible Society, all Sunday Schools within the Sunday School Institute, the Sunday School Union, and the Wesleyan

Sunday School Institute, will please observe that by a special Resolution of the Committee they will henceforth be treated as subscribers and be allowed to purchase the books and maps (by application only to the Secretary) at reduced prices.

The Committee acknowledge with thanks the following :—

"Recueil d'Archéologie Orientale," by Prof. Ch. Clermont-Ganneau. Tome VII, Livraisons 16–25. § 32. La chiliarchie d'Héphaestion et les Nabatéens. § 33. Ancien rituel grec pour l'abjuration des Musulmans. §§ 34–35. L'Édit byzantin de Bersabée. § 36. La marche de Saladin du Caire à Damas avec démonstration sur Kerak. § 37. Deux alabastra israélites archaïques découverts à Suse. § 38 *bis*. Localités antiques de la Palæstina III^e^. § 41. *Fiches et notules:* Saint Tarabô et la rage, La piscine Probatique et la Béthesda, Saint Georges, Jezabel, Le mont 'Aûf et le prophète Elie, Les poissons et la violation du sabbat, Itinéraire de Gaza au Caire, Jésus dans la tradition samaritaine, etc., Additions et rectifications.

"Al-Mashrik : Revue Catholique Orientale Bimensuelle." "Le commerce maritime de la Syrie au Moyen-Âge," by P. H. Lammens ; "Sur les bords du désert de Palmyre," by P. L. Cheikho ; "L'histoire du commerce dans l'antiquité," by P. L. Jalabert.

"Echos d'Orient."

"Jerusalem, Ancient and Modern. With plans and illustrations." From the author, J. M. Tenz.

See further below, pp. 77 *sqq*.

The Committee will be glad to receive donations of Books to the Library of the Fund, which already contains many works of great value relating to Palestine and other Bible lands. A catalogue of Books in the Library will be found in the July *Quarterly Statement*, 1893.

For list of authorised lecturers and their subjects, *see* end of the Journal, or write to the Secretary.

Whilst desiring to give publicity to proposed identifications and other theories advanced by officers of the Fund and contributors to the pages of the *Quarterly Statement*, the Committee wish it to be distinctly understood that by publishing them in the *Quarterly Statement* they do not necessarily sanction or adopt them.

Christchurch (N.Z.) International Exhibition.

A very representative collection, illustrative of the work of the Palestine Exploration Fund, is included in the British Government section of the International Exhibition at Christchurch, New Zealand, which was opened on November 1st. This collection, which was shipped in July last, comprises the following:—A complete set of the maps published by the Fund from the original survey of Palestine, on the scale of 1 inch to the mile; the Old and New Testament maps, on the scale of $\frac{3}{8}$ inch to the mile; the photo-relief map and plan of Jerusalem, illustrating the most recent discoveries; a set of the publications of the Fund and of the Library of the Palestine Pilgrim's Text Society; plans and photographs of the recent explorations by Mr. Macalister at the ancient city of Gezer; casts of inscriptions, contour models of Jerusalem and Sinai, &c., &c. A full description of the Exhibit is given in the British official catalogue.

The British Government Exhibit at Christchurch, which is, to a large extent, of an educational character, will be in charge of Captain P. H. Atkins, who was the British representative for Education at the St. Louis International Exhibition, 1904. It is hoped that the collection sent by the Palestine Exploration Fund will be of considerable interest to the subscribers to the Fund in New Zealand and Australia, and that it will give a good idea of the work done during the past forty years for the extension of our knowledge of the geography and history of the Bible.

Form of Bequest to the Palestine Exploration Fund.

I give to the Palestine Exploration Fund, London, the sum of _____ to be applied towards the General Work of the Fund; and I direct that the said sum be paid, free of Legacy Duty, and that the Receipt of the Treasurer of the Palestine Exploration Fund shall be a sufficient discharge to my Executors.

*Signature*_____

Witnesses _____

_____

_____

Note.—*Three Witnesses are necessary in the United States of America. Two suffice in Great Britain.*

THE IMMOVABLE EAST.

By Philip J. Baldensperger, Esq.

(*Continued from Q.S.*, 1906, *p.* 197.)

The fields as already mentioned have different names, derived from any peculiarity, *e.g.* from a pit, a tree, a ruin, and so forth, a field is known as the land of the pit, etc. The border lines in a plain are separated by a deep furrow called *takhm*, and marked by a big stone or by piles of stones. These divisions are called *mawâres*.

In the hill countries, there are terraces called *ḥabâ'il*, which are more or less narrow strips of lands along the slopes of the hills, divided by loose-stone walls, one above the other. Bridle paths lead generally to these divisions, but when, as is sometimes the case, there are none, the proprietor must climb over several other walls before he can reach his own.

Near the villages are small enclosed plots of land called *ḥakûra(t)*, walls are planted with thorns to protect them against goats and sheep, and vegetables for the proprietor's use are generally grown there.

The *khale(t)* is an open land, like a terrace, but without walls. It is in a half wild condition and it derives its name from *khala*, "wilds" or "desert." The *barie(t)*, on the other hand, is the wilderness, and *barr* is the open land from *bara* outside. *Bûr* is the uncultivated land. The *marâ'* is a plateau on the top of a hill or mountain, the *marj* is the prairie.

The *jisr* (lit. bridge) is a broad space between two mountains, reaching from one side to the other, and separated by walls along the valley. The *zâwie(t)* is a "corner" of land in a winding of the valley, the *ḳâ'a(t)* is a small space at the end of a valley before the plain commences.

The *jurf* denotes a piece of enclosed land into which the water falls from every side, the *ḥakl* is the broad arable land in the hilly country, and the *karn* is applied to a projecting eminence on a

mountain or hill (cp. the fruitful *hill* [lit. "horn"] of Isaiah v, 1 (see R.V. margin).

The natives plough the lands wherever it is possible to go, with a yoke of oxen: a mule or horse is very often employed in the mountainous regions. The arable lands are ploughed at the end of October or beginning of November, according to the moisture which is in the earth, after the first rains have fallen. Where they cannot afford to lose so much time and plough twice, the seed is thrown on the hard soil and often among thorns, a proceeding which is a great drawback to the crops. The first ploughing is called *k'sara(t)*, breaking the land, the second is the *thaneye(t)* (ثَانِيَة). The prophets Jeremiah and Hosea, it will be remembered, instruct the people not to sow among thorns, but to break up the fallow ground (Jer. iv, 3, Hos. x, 12). It is not always through want of time that they sow the seed in the fallow ground, it is also to prevent the myriads of birds from descending and picking up the grain, which it is more difficult for them to eat in the dry clods than in the moist soil. Millions of starlings come in October and November, and are often a serious nuisance, sometimes obliging the fellâḥ to sow again. But the advent of the starlings promises good crops; the proverb says, *sant iz-zarzûr uḥrâth fil-bûr*, "In the year of the starlings, plough in waste lands." Besides the starlings, there is the calandra lark (melanocorypha calandra; sturnus vulgaris), which is almost as bad, though not so numerous as the starling. Least among them is the crested lark (alauda cristata), قُنْبَرَة *ḳunbara(t)*, a native of Palestine, which never leaves the country, whilst the other two migrate.

Ploughing for winter crops continues till about February for barley and lentils, and, of course, these lands cannot be utilized for other crops in the same year. About eighteen months elapse from the ploughing of the lands for winter crops to the next ploughing for summer crops; this ploughing is in April and May.

The ploughmen, *ḥarâthîn*, are called *shaḥâdîn* in the plains where they hold lands and oxen, as a part of the village lands—for they always plough with oxen in the plains—but in the mountains they plough with whatever they happen to possess, whether cows, or donkeys, or even a cow and a donkey, or a mule or horse. Sometimes even the camel is used, but is not very much appreciated, as it stamps the land with its broad soft feet and is often troublesome.

Ploughing for wheat is not expected to extend further than the end of January; but all depends on the quantity of land a man intends to sow, and the number of yoke of oxen or mules he happens to possess. In the plains they plough with many yoke of oxen in order to ensure more regular growth and harvest; but in the mountains, on account of the different position of the several plots, it is easier to plough the land first in the warmer and sheltered parts, and then to continue towards the more exposed summits, where the harvest is often expected a month later. The prophet Elisha, who was a landed proprietor, was ploughing with twelve yoke of oxen, he himself also with a yoke, when Elijah came to call him away (1 Kings xix, 19). The owner alone is called the *fallâḥ*, and the rest *ḳaṭrûs*.

When ploughing begins, a *Fatiḥa* is said, either by the *khaṭîb* or priest of the village, or by the owner without any further ceremony; on the following day the work is always begun "in the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful."

About the region of Gaza a regular service of thanksgiving, *mowlad* (مولد), is celebrated at the beginning of each agricultural event, as ploughing and sowing, harvesting and threshing: the owner gathers all members of the family and a khaṭîb or two to chant, and after the religious ceremony, a dinner terminates the festival. Before commencing to plough, one or more long squares are traced by furrows, to mark the quantity of land to be ploughed that day, and for sowing the seed in it. Ploughing ceases at Vesper, the *'asser*, an hour or so before sun-set. The ploughs are carried home in the plains or, if there is no Wely wherein to leave them by night, they are hidden in any brush-wood in the vicinity.

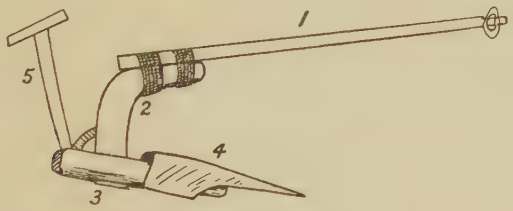
Manuring is followed by systematically carrying the manure to the fields in the arable lands, it is only left fallow for watered gardens, and trees, or vineyards in some places. Manure in general is called *zibl*, but a number of terms are in use to specify each particular kind, *e.g.*, *ḥarâ*, *jille*(*t*), etc.

The manuring of the fields is somewhat of a hap-hazard business; the herds and flocks have to follow the reapers for many weeks, and thus the fields are manured. In the mountains the wealthy land-owners invite wealthy shepherds to camp for several weeks on the reaped lands, these shepherds then put up their tents, and the flocks pass the nights on the grounds. This service is paid for by several roṭls, or raṭls, of coffee and sugar. Carcasses which are only

left to decay and to be devoured by wild beasts and birds also serve their purpose. The Christian villagers of Bethlehem, Beth Jâla, and Ramallah, also the Hebronites, carry the sweepings into their olive-yards and vineyards. In the poor naked hilly country as well as in the plains, cow's dung is gathered and made into a kind of cake with a mixture of straw (*ḳaṣwal*), and stuck against the walls to dry, for use in the ovens. This *jille(t)*, as it is called, is mostly used in the Mount of Olives and Philistia. It is put outside the oven to heat it, and does not come in contact with the bread. Ezekiel was ordered to take *gêl* to bake his bread, *i.e.*, not to put the bread on it, but in the oven (Ezek. iv, 12), and as the Fellâḥîn never use human dung for anything, neither for heating nor for manuring, for fear of becoming defiled, so Ezekiel asks not to be defiled (iv, 13–14). All refuse which will not do for fuel is thrown on a heap, and accumulates in some villages, as Beth-dajjan, to form real hills. In the same village they have set up round manure huts, which look like the dark cupolas of small mosques, and as every family possesses one such hut, there are quite a number to be seen near each other. This led to an error when one day several Egyptians arrived in sight of Beth-dejjan and saw the cupolas, and, mistaking them for mosques, worshipped at (as they thought) the first collection of Saints in the Holy Land.

The Hebrews followed, or rather preceded, in much the same way as the Fellâḥîn (cp. Jer. xvi, 4; viii, 2; ix, 2). The dung-hills in the villages (the *mezbhale[t]*) of the Fellâḥîn are the *ashpattoth* where the poor preferred to sit (Ps. cxiii, 7), probably because it was warmer in winter than the cold ground (1 Sam. ii, 8).

The complete plough is called *'ud* when it is meant for oxen. The different parts of the plough are:—

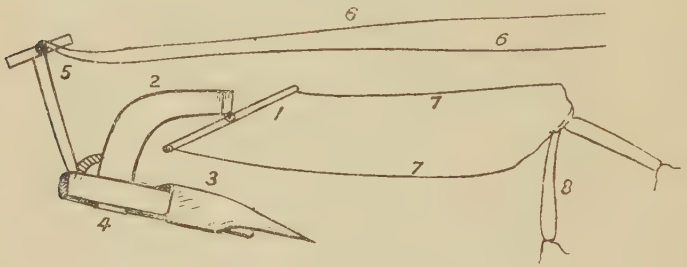


Plough for Two Oxen.

1. *Ḳudâmâniye(t).*
2. *Rukbe(t).*
3. *Rijel.*
4. *Sikke(t).*
5. *Yad.*

All the parts except the plough-share are of oak, the plough-share itself is of iron. The yoke is also of oak, or sometimes lighter wood, and is called *nîr*, corresponding to the Hebrew *'ôl* (Isaiah ix, 4: Jer. ii, 20).

When the plough is drawn by only one animal, whether a horse, mule, or camel, the team, or *ḳudûmâniye(t)*, is not necessary, and the various parts are:—



Plough for One Animal.

1. *Neyâra(t)*.
2. *Rukbe(t)*.
3. *Sikke(t)*.
4. *Rijel*.
5. *Yad*.
6. *Zemâm* (reins).
7. *Ṣar'* (second reins).
8. *'Abwe(t)* (*cp.* *'abôth*, Hos. xi, 4).

The reins are attached to the halter, and the animal is thus guided. The prophet Hosea compares Ephraim, under God's guidance, to the animal attached to the plough (chap. xi, 4): "I drew him with the cords (reins) of a man (not of a mule), with bands (collars) of love, and I was to him, as one taking away from their jaws the burden of the yoke." As the oxen have no reins, a long goad, *massas*, is used with a nail at the end to prick the oxen. This is the ox-goad; compare Shamgar's slaughter of the Philistines (Judges iv, 31).

When one animal is employed, and with reins, a short goad, *mankhâz*, is used. It has a broad metal end, to remove any adhering clods from the plough; compare the *ḳorbân* of 1 Sam. xiii, 21, among the instruments of the Israelites, which they could sharpen by a file.

After the squares of land have been traced out, the sower fills his lap (*ḥujar*) with seed, and steps along the furrow (*thalm*), up

and down, and with every second step throws a handful in a half circle. Whilst throwing it they say:

يلا يا رب	*Yalla ya Rab.*	Attend O Lord!
ميتان اردب	*mîtain erdab.*	Two hundred erdab.
وان حس النكيل	*wa-in ḫass il-Kâle.*	And should it be less,
وفّي يا رب	*Waffi Ya Rab.*	Fill the wanting (number).

The erdab is a Persian measure, no more in use, although the name still lingers on only in the verses. The measure mostly used is the *ṣâ'*, weighing about 3 roṭls of good wheat or 4 roṭls of good barley (the roṭl is about 6½ lbs). The quantity of seed thrown depends on circumstances, fat land wants less seed than poor land. Again, where thorns may be expected to grow up plentifully, more seed is thrown in order to choke them. Where the lands are sufficiently separated either by walls or by steep descents from the road-side, the field is all sowed with the same seed; but in the plain country, where nothing intervenes, and animals may feed the growing crops, they sow lupin (*turmus*) next the road, because the animals do not eat them. Tares (*zawân*) grow also, but this depends upon the quality of the wheat. The seed of summer crops as durra and sesame is sown by means of a leather funnel fixed to the plough, with a long reed going down to the ploughshare. The seed thus falls in the furrow as the animal advances, and the sowing is therefore done very regularly.

The crops grown in winter are wheat (*ḥameḥ*, *ḥunṭa*[*t*], cp. Heb. *ḥiṭṭah*), barley (*sh'îr*, Heb. *sᵉ'ôrah*), lentils (*'adas*, cp. Heb. *'adâshîm*), vetches (*kursanne*[*t*]), and broad beans (*fûl*, Heb. *pôl*). The summer crops are *dhura*[*t*] (ذرة), generally pronounced *dourra*, sesame, giving oil when pressed, chick-pea (*ḥumuṣ*, حمص). Ḥumuṣ *may be* the *ḥâṣîr* ("leeks"), which the Israelites longed for in the wilderness (Numb. xi, 5). The *ḥumuṣ* is sour when eaten raw, and this may have been the cause of their asking for such a plant. Cotton is planted in some regions north of Jerusalem.

There are several different kinds of wheat:—

nûrsi, 4 rows of grain, long ears, white flour, very thin stalk, does not give good *tibn* (straw for food) for the animals.

ṣafra makrûta(*t*), 4 rows of grain, thick ears, fine flour, good *tibn*.

ḳatrâwiye(t), 4 rows of grain, thin corn (not used in the mountains).

abu herêbe(t), 2 rows of grain, grey corn (is not liked, as it seems mouldy).

kaf-er-raḥmân, or *dibbiye(t)*, lit. "the palm of the merciful," or "bear-like" (being clumsy), the husks are black and the grain is long, 4 rows, usually grown in the Jordan Valley, and when brought to the maritime plains degenerates very quickly, seed has to be brought every second year.

ṭâbâsy, very white transparent grains.

baladiyet, brown grains.

ḳamḥ imṭobar, black spots on top.

ḳamḥ ghôrâny, thick, white.

ḳamḥ ḥaurâny, from the Ḥauran, brown grains.

ḳamḥ ghazâwy, from Gaza, dark-rose coloured.

ḳamḥ nâbilsy, from Nablûs.

ḳamḥ 'ajlûny, from Eglon.

ḳamḥ dibwâny, from Moab, bright, long grains.

Barley of different sorts is also found:—

farkadi, 4 rows, the ear very long.

ghazâwy, 2 rows, very long husks.

sab'îni is sometimes sown in February, and can be reaped 70 days after, whence its name.

Wheat gives ten, twenty, or thirty-fold, according to the soil, extent of the previous ploughing, and situation of the field.

Barley may give a hundred-fold, especially if all conditions agree: sowing in November at the feast of Lydd, rain at the right season, absence from depredations of birds, ants, and so forth. It was under favourable conditions that Isaac sowed barley in Southern Philistia, and received an hundred-fold that year (Gen. xxvi, 12).

In the beautiful parable of the sower and the seed Jesus remembers all the above conditions: the birds (starlings and larks) devoured some, the earth with but little soil (this is seen especially in the hilly countries), the fallow ground, where the thorns choke the wheat, and the good ground bringing a hundred-fold (Matt. xiii, 3–8).

Lentils and vetches rarely give more than ten-fold, sometimes not even so much, varying according to the goodness of the ground.

When the barley is in the vicinity of towns, where the rubbish

gives it a vigorous growth, and has grown one or two feet high, it is cut when quite green to be sold as fodder for the horses. In this state it is called *ḫaṣîle(t)*, and if it is cut before it is very high, not over two feet, it may grow again.

The standing field of corn is called *zare'*, it is not often weeded in the poorer mountainous regions, because there manuring is almost nothing and the moisture less than in the plains, and therefore weeds are fewer. But in the maritime plains, and more especially in the Jordan valley, the weeds grow faster than the wheat and it is indispensable to go there in February and March, and as the Bedawin, the owners of the lands, do not work, the Fellâḥîn from the mountains of Judea and Ephraim who hold shares, go there and do all that is needful. The fields also are often irrigated near Jericho, and on the banks of the Nimrin and adjacent streams, the plain of Shittim.

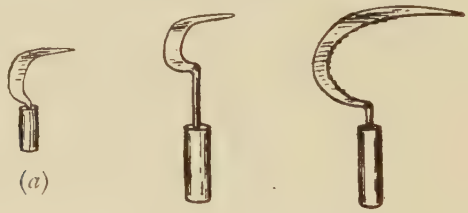
The Gaza wheat is not much liked, because it gives grey bread, and contains too many tares (*zarûn*). Certainly the tares could be picked out, but the wheat is not strong enough to resist the tares, and it is probably such wheat that is meant in the parable of the tares (Matt. xiii, 27). So, the Gaza wheat being weak, the tares are left, lest they root up the wheat with them in the act of plucking.

Summer crops being sown in regular rows, with space between, the weeds grow much quicker, and they must be attended to as long as the principal plants are still quite young. Wheat and barley is about knee-deep in poor lands of the mountains. In such plains as the Beḳ'a (Plain of Rephaim) it grows to the height of one's girdle, and in the plains of Sharon often as high as the shoulder, whilst in the plain of Jordan, it will hide a horse and, in exceptional cases, even the horseman. Durra, too, is generally a foot or so higher than a man, whilst lentils and chick-peas are only about half a foot high.

The barley harvest begins in April in the Jordan Valley, in May in the maritime plains. Lentils and vetches, however, are reaped before; these last are plucked root and all and laid in heaps, whence they are removed on camels and donkeys in large packages. The harvest, *ḫaṣûle(t)*, of barley is performed with the aid of sickles, *manâjil* (plural of *minjal*); we may compare the Hebrew *maggâl* (Jer. l, 16). The sheaves, *ghemûr*, are thrown behind by the *ḫaṣṣâd* (harvestman) and gathered and put into neat bundles. They are

then carried to the threshing-floor, *jurn*, the Hebrew *gôren* (Gen. l, 10). When the cereals are very weak, the plants are plucked without the aid of a sickle and taken in the arms, as no sheaves can be made, the straw being too short to bind them. These meagre harvests are called *maḥel*, as opposed to *khaṣṣâḥ*, the very fruitful ones. Such a *maḥel* harvest is foretold to the fallen house of Israel, "when the harvestman gathereth the standing corn, and his arm reapeth the ears (that is, without sickle on account of the shortness of the stalks);" Isaiah xvii, 5. The reaper wears a leather apron which covers his breast and knees, as the husks of the barley and wheat would soon penetrate the thin and only *thobe* he has on. The wheat is also reaped with the sickle when convenient, and the stubble is left for the animals which follow the reapers.

There are three kinds of sickles, according to the height of the wheat, (*a*) a very short sickle for cutting grass and short cereals, *ḥashâshe(t)*; (*b*) the *menjal*: (*c*) the *kâlûsh*. With (*b*) the Hebrew



maggâl has already been compared. As for (*c*) it is possibly the קלשׁ which the Israelites were wont to have repaired by the Philistines (1 Sam. xiii, 20); the translators took it to be part of the fork.

The reapers eat twice a day; about 10 in the morning they have the *ṣâbûḥ*, and at about 2 in the afternoon the *ghadhâ* (غدا). When a man has too much to gather and he wishes to get rid of the work in the shortest possible time, he sends an invitation to all his friends and relatives. This is called *'âne(t)* (عونة). The people come and reap everything in a very short time, and a grand dinner follows as the reward for their trouble. When a village possesses lands in common at some distance from the village, the whole of the inhabitants go there and build huts (*'arâish*), and live there for several months round the threshing-floor; the main village is then almost abandoned, and only a few guardians remain to take care of

the things (generally of no great value) which are left behind. But whether it be far or near, all the women, rich or poor, go to glean behind the reapers. Though the name *luḳâṭa(t)*[1] is sometimes used for the gleaners, they are better known as *ṣeyâfât*, *i.e.*, "summer-enjoyers or gatherers." The ears, when gathered, are tied into small round bundles like a bouquet of flowers, and the bundles are carried home by the woman on her head, where she threshes out the wheat with a stone.

A diligent gleaner can gather more wheat than would be her usual pay for a day, especially in a fertile field where many stalks are left. In the plains of Philistia the gleaners are more numerous than the reapers, and it is difficult to keep them away from the sheaves: a North-African is therefore employed to watch and to remonstrate with them when they become too impertinent, "but" (as a *nâṭûr*, "watchman," said to me) "what can one young man do before so many young women? Besides, there is so much scolding and cursing, and where goes the blessing?" For among the wheat-sheaves and on the threshing-floor, a curse invites the genie to carry away food as they neither sow nor reap, yet want to eat. In Ruth ii, 5, we read of the "servant that was set over the reapers" to watch, and Boaz enjoined him to allow Ruth to pass between the sheaves and not to speak harsh words to her (Ruth ii, 15). The same words are used in Arabic of the scolding which the above-mentioned *nâṭûr* has continually to do. Much as the reapers try to prevent the gleaners wandering among the sheaves or into the fields, it is natural with them not to gather stray ears or to cut all the standing ones, which would be looked upon as avarice; every bad act is avoided as much as possible "before the blessing," as the corn is very often called; the law of Moses, bidding them to "leave the stray ears" (Lev. xix, 9), is innate with them. The produce of the gleanings, which is sometimes considerable, may enable a widow to have bread enough for the winter, and in case of married women, who have not to harvest for themselves, or for girls, the wheat or barley is sold or changed for chickens, pigeons, or oil; which, as we have previously remarked, are the woman's property and care.

The threshing-floors generally belong to the whole village, and are some distance away on an elevation or on a rocky space if possible, not on the top of the hill, but so situated that the wind

[1] Cp. the Hebrew verb *liḳḳeṭ* in Ruth ii, 2.

can help the winnowing. In the plains the threshing-floors are prepared by the stone-cutters, *derdâs* or *hârâs*, who roll and smooth the ground. Sometimes water is sprinkled to make the soil more solid and to prevent the grains from going into the earth. In the rocky hills the floors are merely swept, and the sheaves are put there to await the threshing. When all the harvest is gathered (and if the Government permits), they begin threshing. Until the threshing-commission has given permission no start can be made. This commission is composed of an official or the one who rents the tithe and two or three "mayors" of different villages. An estimate is made of how much every man has gathered, and this estimation (*takhmîn*) is entered up by the *khatîb*, and the "mayor" has to seal it.

When permission is given, all the animals a man may possess, cows, oxen, asses, horses, mules, are taken and bound in a row by five or six, to trample on the sheaves. Those sheaves which are made ready are called *ṭarḥa*, and are put in position by a wooden fork, *she'be(t)*. In many places the oxen are shoed with iron; they are not muzzled as a rule. When the straw is so far trodden down that the ears are all crushed and the stalks reduced to *tibn*, the *ṭarḥa* is gathered together in a heap and a favourable wind awaited. As threshing can only be done by day, when the sun is warm so that the straw crushes easily, the winnowing is done by night. The winnowing-fork, *midhra* (مذرى), is of oak and has four branches, whilst the *she'be(t)*-fork, for putting the straw in order before threshing, has but two. Both have a handle of a length of about 5 feet.

she'bet, threshing-fork.

midhrâ, winnowing-fork.

In the plains of Philistia, where the ground is looser than in the plains nearer the mountains, they thresh with the threshing-sledge (*mûrâj*, cp. Hebrew *môrâg*, Isaiah xli, 15). The sledge has

flint stones with the sharp edges pointing downwards to cut the straw (cp. the "teeth," Is. *l.c.*). When it is desired to prepare some wheat for their daily necessities, before the permission for threshing is given, they knock out some sheaves with a stick; this is not called *dersis* (the threshing with animals), but knocking or beating, *dak* or *khabat*, which is done in a secret place and not on the threshing-floor, because there is also a keeper there to guard the wheat. Gideon, as we are told, was *beating* (the verb is *khâbaṭ*, Judges vi, 11) not *threshing* the wheat in the wine-press, to hide it from the Midianites, the lords of the land in his day. The sesame is not threshed but the stalks are placed in the threshing-floor and are simply beaten out. Was it the *keṣaḥ* of Isaiah xxviii, 27? "For the fitches are not threshed with a sharp threshing instrument, neither is a cart-wheel (or calf?) turned upon the cummin, but the fitches are beaten with a staff (as the sesame is) and the cummin with a rod."

The fine straw, *tibn*, is carried home in big bags on camels or donkeys and put into the store-room, by the opening in the roof; such sacks are called *shûwâl*. In the plains they have a hut for the straw (*shûna*[*t*]); here the *tibn* is kept in readiness as the villages are often miles away from the ploughing-grounds; but such store-houses in the village are called *mathan*.[1] The stores are swept by the women and the refuse carried to the roof or other flat surface, where it is mixed with cow-dung and the women walk about trampling it with their feet, and then leave it to dry for fuel.

[1] So perhaps in Is. xxv, 10, "Moab shall be trodden down as the straw of the store (מתבן) for the dunghill."

(*To be continued.*)

THE BEDOUIN OF THE SINAITIC PENINSULA.

(*Continued from Q.S.*, 1906, *p.* 258.)

By W. E. Jennings-Bramley, Esq.

XVII. *Ordinary Life.*

There is so little variety in the incidents that mark the life of the Bedouin, that in giving a slight sketch of one, I might be describing that of most.

At his birth, his mother is visited and congratulated by her friends in that she is the mother of a boy. They bring her presents according to their means. The rich, a goat; the less wealthy, flour, lentils, or any other household food. The birth of a girl is allowed to pass without any notice being taken of the occurrence; but, if the girl-child is of little account, she has some slight compensation in that the first hours of her existence are likely to be more peaceful than the boy's. He, the man-child, has much before him, even before he tastes his mother's milk. If his parents wish him to be lucky through life, he must swallow a finely chopped feather of the long-eared or eagle-owl. This is mixed with milk, and the child has to swallow it. To become scorpion-proof, the baby must also swallow, in the same way, the ashes of a burnt scorpion, the ashes of which are mixed with milk and given to the child. Both these charms must be taken before anything has crossed his lips. This method of rendering a child invulnerable to the poison of the scorpion is believed in by all, but, luckily for the babies, not always put into practice.

Whether boy or girl, the child is suckled by its mother for two years; the Mohammedan law to this effect being rigorously enforced among the Bedouin with the especial intention of protracting the time during which a woman is not likely to be with child.

For the next few years of the boy's life (for of the girl we will not speak now) he stays with his mother, following her wherever

she goes, helping her to drive the goats in search of pasture, and gradually learning to look after himself, which knowledge, according to Bedouin ideas, he should have acquired when eight years old. While still with his mother he begins to learn to play the *ghâb* (flute), which will, for the next few years, occupy every spare moment. The chief difficulty in playing is to learn to *rudd*, *i.e.*, to keep up a continuous note by inhaling the air through the nostril while exhaling it through the mouth. At eight years old he begins the more serious business of life, leaves his mother to follow his father or some other owner of camels, and learns his duties as herdsman, for through life the care of camels will be his chief occupation.

His dress, as soon as he has any, is the same as his elders, and the expense of it, as well as his food, falls on those who employ him as soon as he becomes a herdsman. The only difference of costume between man and boy is that the latter goes bareheaded and does not wear sandals. For ornament, he may have the back of his right hand or his forearm tattooed, but Bedouin custom, or fashion, forbids his being marked elsewhere. The women, however, often have their legs and shins as well as their forearms tattooed, with very much the same designs as those given by Lane in his *Modern Egyptians*. Boys as well as girls have their hair plaited in tight plaits that begin at the very roots of the hair on the forehead and on the top of the head.

I have said that at eight years old he begins the serious business of life. An intelligent boy soon learns what he has to do, and I have seen one of ten entrusted with camels and herding them by himself. He must now find out the best grazing ground for his camels, see they do not stray, and bring them down to water, in summer every three days, in winter at much longer intervals. As watering is a long and fatiguing business, the different owners generally manage to meet the herdsman on these days at the wells and help him to water their camels. Then they hear news of their animals, see that all is well with them, and go back satisfied that no *ḳâm* (raid) has passed that way and carried off any of their property. To the owners these raids are naturally a constant source of anxiety. The herdsmen, too, live in dread, for they are sometimes killed, often maltreated, and at the best may be carried off to prevent their giving the alarm.

While out with the flocks he lives chiefly on camel's milk and

bread, varying his diet with roasted corn. This he prepares by throwing it on a dish full of hot cinders, shaking it all the time it is roasting. His leisure hours—and they are many—are spent in playing on the flute, knitting the camel's wool, which the women have spun, into caps or twisting it into the *akal* (rope) with which the camels are fastened at night, or *meriea*-cord for keeping on the *kaufia* or head handkerchief. For wage, besides food and clothing, he receives from each owner for whom he herds, one male baggage-camel (*okki*) per annum, the value of which may be reckoned at one guinea and one real. A young man is generally married before he is twenty, and by that time he should have got together a few camels of his own.

His cousin, if he have one, is by custom the most eligible bride; in fact, he has the right to demand her of her father, and can enforce his claim to her against the pretensions of any other suitors. When he has spoken to the girl's father, the matter is taken into consideration by her family, who meet to discuss and decide the price that shall be asked for her. This consists of camels, thirty being a very high price to pay for a wife, and only likely in the case of a sheikh's daughter. But if so high a price is asked, matters are often made easy for the bridegroom, by an arrangement, which allows him to pay only a certain number of the camels agreed on at the time of the marriage, leaving the remainder to be handed over when convenient, which means that in many cases the matter is allowed to slide altogether.

The ceremony of marriage, if it can be called a ceremony, is simple. When all preliminaries have been decided on, the two families meet, and in their presence a stranger asks the bridegroom if he is willing to give the price agreed upon; on his answering "yes," the stranger hands him a twig. Then follows a feast given by the bridegroom. While his guests are eating the food he has provided, a tent has been pitched a long way from the encampment and the bride has been taken to it. In some cases she is not told she is to be married till this moment. Whether she knows or does not know, it is *de rigueur* that she should loudly express her disinclination to marriage, and seemingly be dragged to the tent by sheer force. Her husband joins her there, and there they remain shut up for eight days—no one seeing them—food being placed outside it by their friends. It would be considered extremely indelicate for a woman to allow herself to be seen for some time after her marriage,

and often the couple go off to the hills and remain there for two months by themselves.

When they return, they may have to live for some time under his father's tent (which is then divided by a partition) while the young wife spins and weaves enough goat's hair to make the material for one of their own. Many girls prepare the tent before they marry. Very few buy one, as these cost from £4 to £5.

In the case of disagreement between husband and wife, the husband can divorce his wife. Should she bear him no child, this alone constitutes a valid reason for divorce if he wishes it. The wife, if she has serious cause of complaint against her husband, may escape to the tent of a friend, and remain under the protection of his wife until her father can be sent for. He has it in his power to force her to return to her husband; he should do his best to smooth matters and persuade her to be reconciled. If he cannot, and she is determined to be divorced, her father must return the full price her husband paid for her, and if she is not with child, she is free to marry again at once. If she leaves her husband soon after the marriage and is found to be with child (say five or six months after she has left him), the husband generally takes her back. If he does not, he must, at all events, pay for her and the child's keep, and give the latter a camel or goats for its own. The woman may then marry again. She generally waits about six months after leaving her husband before she marries again; but, supposing she re-married at once and was then found to be with child by her first husband, her second must adopt the child that is born.

Should a man wish to divorce his wife and have no legitimate cause, such as her misconduct or barrenness, he can still do so, but she has then the right to carry off one camel load of his property (though this is not always enforced) in addition to all that she brought him at the time of their marriage. This privilege she loses if he has any just cause for divorce.

The married man's time is taken up in constant journeys to Gaza and Suez, fetching corn and selling goats to pay for it. In between these journeys he sits in his tent and guards his property against the raids which is a constant unpleasant possibility. Should his camels be robbed by a raid during his absence, on his return he joins those of his tribe who are off on a counter-expedition to try and get them or others back in their place. All this robbing

and counter-robbing goes on without any danger to the women and children, who are never touched.

Some few Bedouin hunt the ibex and gazelle, others own small patches of ground at the bottom of wâdies, where they grow maize, melons, barley and corn for their own consumption. In Northern Sinai a very few own date trees. When not fighting or travelling, four-fifths of their time is spent lounging in the tents. Every ten to fifteen days the camp, if a large one, has to be moved on to fresh grazing grounds, for all is eaten up within reach; a certain activity reigns on these occasions, otherwise one day passes like the last.

I should say it is possible for one tent to remain in the same neighbourhood the whole year round, the necessity for moving often depending on the number of flocks to be fed in one neighbourhood. Tents are not used in summer, and are then stowed away in holes in the rocks, from whence they are taken out as soon as the winter rains begin. Life would be monotonous enough were it not for a raid now and again. These take time, for the fighting men of a tribe will go far (those of Sinai as far as el-Jûf) before beginning to plunder, preferring, for comfort's sake, to keep on amicable terms with their immediate neighbours. A probable result of these raids is the small social importance given to a man by his riches. The rich man of to-day may be the beggar of to-morrow, and *vice versâ*, so that no social importance is given by wealth, so easily lost or regained; but they do attach immense importance to a man's pedigree.

When a man is too old to fight or to travel, he has nothing left him to do, he sits by the well and talks with his contemporaries of the fine things they did in their day. Though filial duty is recognized, and the sons will take care of their old fathers, there is rather a feeling of contemptuous tolerance than of respect for old age. To them it only represents weakness, which means uselessness. Still, the reputation of having been a great raider in his day will confer some consideration on even the oldest.

It is impossible to obtain any accurate knowledge of the age to which they live. I have met a man who said he well remembered Ibrahim Pasha's campaign in 1832, and many who must have been, to judge by their looks, as old as he, but this is a very vague way of computing their average age. If you believed their own statements, 110 would be quite an ordinary age to reach. When

the end does come, the Bedouin is buried near the water, so that his soul may drink its fill with ease. And so their incessant care for water follows them even into the next world.

It would be natural to suppose, that in a country where water is scarce, and the Bedouin constantly exposed to the risk of short allowance, that he would accustom himself from early youth to drinking little. But this is not the case. He will, when at a well, drink more at a time than we should care to, and I do not think he can endure the want of water much longer than we can. The length of time he may be able to do without it depends in a great measure on the allowance he has had before the supply ran out. Also a great deal depends, naturally, on the time of year, whether it be in winter or summer, hot or cold weather; also on the condition of health he is in. On certain days, when a hot wind is blowing, a man cannot be without water: I mean by that, he cannot make any exertion without drinking for more than half a day. He will then be so exhausted as probably to lie down and fall into a sleep, which is not far short from a delirium, and, if alone, he may die without recovering consciousness.

My servant, Unis, told me that on one occasion, in the Lyban desert, he had walked on ahead, on the right track as he believed, until feeling tired, he lay down in the shade of some rocks, to await the coming up of the caravan. He fell asleep, and when he awoke he could see no sign of his companions. He set to work to find the track, and succeeded, but the day was very hot, and by the time he was on it, he was too exhausted to do more than lie down, and face the worst. He fell asleep, and dreamt he was being baked in a furnace! Towards evening he woke up, and luckily his companions had not abandoned him, and one of them rode back and took him along with him.

Something of the same sort very nearly happened to me. I, too, had walked on and fallen asleep, waiting for my camels to come up, and, like Unis, had strayed just enough off the right road not to be seen by my men as they passed. When I awoke, having no watch with me, I had no idea what o'clock it was, and was therefore uncertain whether to go forward or backward in search of them. Luckily for me, on racing up the nearest sandhill, I caught sight of the last camel disappearing over the brow of a hill two miles off. Of course my men would have come back and searched for me, but the desert is a large place wherein to look for a man when he has

got off the right track. On another occasion I had been working at my maps, and on going back to where I thought I should find my man and camels, they were nowhere to be seen. I had mistaken the dip between the hills, all so alike, and walked along the wrong one. It was useless trying to search for my servant; I climbed up the highest hill I could see, and waited (in no anxiety for water, as there was a well close by), and though I was near the camp, it was close upon sunset before he found me,—I had been waiting since 11 o'clock in the morning. In such cases my advice is, if you are of importance to your party, wait where you are until you are found. You can only make matters worse by wandering aimlessly about. To the fellah I would say, retrace your steps along your track until you reach the point where it joins theirs, then follow that until you catch them up. Still better, never leave your party, and whoever you are, when evening comes on, wind your turban round your middle. If you keep that warm you may get through the cold of the night without serious harm.

I have once or twice come upon the bodies of travellers who have died of thirst. Once on my road from Siwa we came upon a man, woman and child. The woman and child had died first. The man had struggled on some little way hanging on to his donkey, which lay dead beside him. He had evidently tried to quench his thirst with lemons, which we found lying about on the sand. I heard afterwards they had stolen two donkeys, and fearing pursuit, had left the usual road and taken to the sand. They must have lost their way, and the water they were carrying, in petroleum tins, had evaporated very fast, as it will do when carried thus. We found the bodies on the right track, which they must have been following for two days when they died, at the time only eight hours from the wells. It was summer, and they were completely dried up, the man's right arm upraised and stiffened in a last convulsion. Once we came upon four pilgrims, two of whom were already dead: the rest in sorry plight, their feet cut to bits, their clothes in shreds. And when we found them they were within a stone's throw of water!

Of course in winter it is possible to endure thirst for a considerably longer time. A few years ago a fellah, who was then travelling in company with a servant of mine and others, taking donkeys and a bull from Dakhla to the cultivation, had a narrow escape. He left his companions one day at 3 o'clock in the afternoon to push on

ahead with the donkey, so that food might be ready for the bull on its arrival. The man missed the track, and at night was not found at the rendezvous decided on. The others could do nothing that night. Next day two of them went back to search, but could see no trace of him. Four days after that the man reached the cultivation, having wandered about for four days without food, and for the two last without water—but this was in winter.

As soon as you find yourself off the track, and the fear of missing the wells comes upon you, the anxiety and extra exertion tell heavily, you are constantly climbing every hillock or hill in the hopes of finding a landmark. You can neither rest nor eat, one thought is ever present, and if you sleep you wake up with an oppressive feeling that things are altogether wrong. Camping at night seems a terrible waste of time, and yet there is no alternative for fear of going still further astray in the dark. Excessive thirst has curious and different effects on different constitutions; the heart works at a greater pace, the saliva ceases to flow, the different senses may become paralysed. A man I met this year told me that once while travelling he had imprudently turned his camel loose without hobbling it, hoping it would feed better in this way. He sat down and watched it but fell asleep, and when he awoke after some hours, found to his alarm that the camel had gone off. He at once took up the spoor and followed it, but seeing no sign of it, even from some high ground he came to, he knew it must be too far ahead for him to catch it up. But he did not dare to leave his skins at a great distance behind him, so he went back, emptied them enough to enable him to carry them, and set off on foot for his destination after burying his goods. His camel he knew was meanwhile, camel-like, steadily retracing its steps to the place it had come from. He had four good days walking before he could hope for a fresh supply of water. For two days of this march his water lasted, on the third it ran out. He then continued walking all through that day without water, and struggled on through most of the next, which was unfortunately very hot. Then his sight began to fail him. He stumbled on for an hour or two, and then had to give in for he was absolutely blind. He could do nothing more but sit down and wonder how long it would take him to die. But, fortunately, some Arabs coming from the south passed his way and picked him up. He eventually recovered his sight and seemed none the worse when I saw him.

Such adventures are almost impossible in Sinai, where there is hardly a spot which is more than two days distant from a well. I do not mean by this that caravans do not suffer, and even very much, from want of water there, but deaths from thirst are extremely rare.

A Bedouin encampment is never far from water, but, at the same time, never too near, for the wells are the resort of travellers and strangers of all sorts, and it is wisest to avoid promiscuous visitors. The choice of a camping ground depends, in fact, very much more on the quality of the pasturage in the neighbourhood than on anything else, and the encampment remains in the one place until this is exhausted. From ten to twelve days is the average time a Bedouin encampment of ordinary size will remain on the same ground, though I have known them stay in one spot for as long as five or six months. But in that case the men have been owners of camels, which, being able to go without water for as long as twelve days while on pasture, can roam over a much greater extent of country in search of it. When, for any such reason, an encampment remains long in one place, the tents are moved, if only a few yards, every fortnight or so for the sake of being pitched on clean ground. Striking and pitching the tents can be done in two hours.

The Arabs call their tents *beit*, or house, the proper word *ḫaima* never being used by them, while the tent in which the men meet—the club, in fact—is call *menzil*. Here the elders of the encampment meet and discuss matters of tribal interest, and here it is decided when and whither the camp shall next be moved. The actual work of moving falls mostly on the women, who go on before with the donkeys and get things ready. The great move of the year is called the Rûbia'. At other times the Bedouin keep more or less near their own wells, but at this time of year they go further afield in search of good pasture, for it is a time of rest and feeding up for all the camels, and while these are resting the men rest too, and no journeys are made to Gaza or Suez. As one man or boy can watch fifty camels, the greater number spend their time lying about the tents, while the evening's amusement is dancing the *dahieh*. The women are busy enough, for now the dessicated milk (dried cakes of milk salted, to be used as milk later on after much soaking) is prepared. *Semen* (clarified butter) is got ready, for sale or consumption, the latter buried in pots in

the ground. But, although resting, the men are always armed and prepared for an emergency, as the fact of so many camels being collected together may tempt the raiders to come that way. It is not that the men guard the camels, for these are sent out with their herdsmen and do not return to camp, like the goats and sheep, every evening, but that they must be ready to go in hot pursuit if the news suddenly reaches them that their flocks have been robbed.

The women herd the goats and sheep, and at this time of year, not having anything to do, a man will often accompany the girl who has charge of the flock, driving them out with her at early dawn, letting them browse on the way till they reach the high ground where they remain, he perhaps playing his pipes or knitting a cap, she spinning, till at sunset they return to camp, where the animals are milked. One reason why it is well that the girl should not be left alone is that the large number of goats collected together sometimes tempts the wolves to follow the flock in the hope of being able to fall on some straying animal. Consequently a sharp look out has to be kept, for a wolf will even attack a young camel. This I know from personal experience. On one occasion, when I was travelling in Sinai, I was awakened one night by hearing a scuffling and stamping near me. Having been warned by the Arabs to be careful on account of the number of wolves about, I had brought my she-camel and her calf close to where I was sleeping. On jumping up I saw that two wolves were attacking the calf, and although the she-camel was doing her best to defend it, she naturally found herself hopelessly hampered by the rope which is tied round her leg and keeps it bent when kneeling. My camel was trying to stamp with her one free foreleg on the wolf which had her calf by the neck, and had already dragged it some yards when my presence frightened both off, and I saw no more of them.

Another anecdote will prove the audacity of the wolf. A woman was driving her flock homewards when, at about four o'clock in the afternoon, she saw that a wolf was following them at a distance of some fifty yards. Gradually as they went on, the wolf crept up nearer and nearer until it came near enough to seize a large kid. First the woman hit at it with a stick, but it took no notice of her or her stick, but when she caught it by the tail and tried to pull it off that way, it turned upon her, biting off two of her fingers and otherwise injuring her hand. It met its match, how-

ever, in that woman, for, wounded as she was, she managed to lift up so heavy a stone, that letting it fall on its head, she killed it, since the carcase of the kid, which it refused to drop, hampered its movements.

As I have mentioned the Rûbia', I will go on to explain the forms which guide the movements of a tribe on this occasion. The first point to ascertain is where the rainfall has been heavy enough to result in good pasture. It may be that the tribe must leave its own territory to find the food desired for the camels elsewhere. In that case, the sheikh, or some near relative of his, will visit the sheikh of the tribe on whose territory they propose to camp to announce their intention. After that he selects the exact spot. Naturally the tribes must be friendly at the time; but once this is so, no difficulty is made, the hospitality shown one year being probably returned the next, as there is no telling, from year to year, where the most abundant pasture will be found.

When the spot has been selected, the first tent put up is the *menzil*, for that, besides being the council or club tent, is the one in which guests are received. A prominent place is selected for it, and the tents of the tribe are pitched round and about it. Several tribes are likely to choose the same ground if it is good, and Bedouin hospitality demands that the first on the ground must supply the next arrivals with food and water for four days, and these again must extend the same hospitality to the next arrivals.

The word *Rûbia'* is used by the Arabs to denote both the ground they have selected for feeding the camels, and the time of year in which they are to be fed. For instance, should you ask a Bedouin when the cow-camels generally calve, he would say, "*Fil Rûbieh*" (فِي الرُّبِيعِ), meaning, "At the time of the Rûbia'." Again, if you were to enquire where so and so was, he might say, "On the Egma, the Rûbia' is there this year."

I have said that Arabs never camp at the wells, though seldom more than a quarter of a mile away, and I have mentioned one important reason for their not doing so. There is another, and that is, that whatever pasture there may be at the beginning of the season, in and about the wells, is very soon eaten up by the flocks that are brought down to be watered. These arrive early in the morning, and generally remain there till three in the afternoon. Watering is a long and fatiguing business, and the herdsman, who has been alone in the hills for at least three days, is anxious to hear

the news from any friends he meets. The camels, too, after a heavy drink, need a rest of some hours.

The camels are all branded, both with the tribal mark, of which those of the great tribes are well known to all, and with the family mark, which are, of course, much more difficult to remember. The only instrument a Bedouin uses for branding is some old bit of iron that comes to hand, and necessarily, the possible varieties in design are limited. If the tribal mark happened to be three parallel lines, the family mark may be a dot at the end of one of these lines, or some variation equally trifling. To add to the difficulty of recognition, every disease that flesh is heir to, both in man and beast, is treated by firing the hot iron, so that a camel may be scarred all over by the time he has reached maturity, and it is difficult to decipher with any certainty the numerous signs. The first to be put on will probably be the *wasm*, with which a young camel is branded before he is a year old. Now, as this must, necessarily, remain upon the animal when sold, it is no proof of actual ownership, nor is it any proof in case of theft. Consequently a new mark is added, and so adds to the confusion.

When a reconciliation is meditated between two tribes, these marks are some guide to the previous history of an animal, and may help in cases of restitution; but as a rule, the actual camels robbed have long ago passed elsewhere, and the business of the sheikhs, who have assembled in council in the *menzil*, is not so much to restore the lost camels, as to decide at what value they shall be assessed. The thefts of years have to be taken into consideration, and the divergent views of previous and present owners to be weighed, so that months elapse before any decision is reached. The tribe which has had the most luck in previous raids often advocates the simpler method of crying quits, and this is sometimes done where the thefts on each side have really about balanced each other.

It should be understood that no feeling of disgrace attaches to the act of stealing. It is the business of every full-grown man; no punishment is enforced for it. Any man seeing another going off with his camels may shoot the thief if he tries to escape after being hailed. The law, in fact, is with the owner, and he may use what means he likes to protect his property, even to the taking of life.

(*To be continued.*)

THE SIEGE OF JERUSALEM.

DIARY OF THE PRINCIPAL EVENTS CONNECTED WITH THE MEMORABLE SIEGE OF JERUSALEM BY TITUS, DRAWN FROM JOSEPHUS: WITH SOME ACCOMPANYING NOTES AND OBSERVATIONS.

By the Rev. J. C. Nevin.

Josephus often gives expression to his ideas of extension in a way that seems to us highly exaggerated. His descriptions of Antonia and Herod's palace-citadel are of this nature. Whilst acknowledging that he does "draw a very long bow" at times, I am inclined, in the main, to apologize for him, on the ground that he speaks of these buildings from a comparison, in his own mind, with the common buildings, houses, shops, and narrow streets of the city, with which he was familiar. These houses were mere pygmies compared with our modern palatial residences and even with the general grade of family domiciles with airy surroundings and of many rooms. So we need to modify our conceptions of places which, if guided solely by his language, we should naturally expand into extensions much beyond the reality. By this I mean that Antonia, for example, was really confined to a much smaller area than the historian's language would seem to call for. He was, however, forced by circumstances to admit that the northern court of the Outer Court of the Temple was very narrow and cramped, when he had to record the battles fought there. By overlooking the above suggestions, many writers have felt obliged to locate Antonia where the apparent size of it seemed to require much more space than is found in the locality where it actually belongs.

In drawing up the following diary of events of the year 70 A.D., I have not always been able to find an exact date. Wherever an uncertainty occurs, with a variation of one or two days, I have given the probable date with the interrogation point (?) added.

8*th* (?) *Nisan.*—Titus made a reconnaissance of the city with six hundred select horsemen, and almost miraculously escaped destruction by a furious assault of the Jews from the Damascus Gate.

9*th* (?) *Nisan.*—Romans camped at Scopus near the monuments of Queen Helena.

The Tenth Legion arrived at the Mount of Olives and commenced construction of camp.

10*th Nisan.*—Furious and futile attack of the Jews on the Tenth Legion at Mount of Olives. Order issued to level all the ground outside of First Wall, from Scopus to Herod's Monuments. This work finished in four days.

During these days, the Jews, by a stratagem, made an unexpected sortie at Damascus Gate and delivered a fierce and successful attack on the Romans, who brought on the fight by disobedience of express orders.

14*th Nisan.*—Titus camped before the city at two points; one near the Tower Psephinus, and one near the Tower Hippicus.

On this day, John's faction captured the Inner Court of the Temple by treachery from the Zealots under Eleazar, thus leaving two great factions, under John in the Temple and adjacent parts, and Simon in the city. Notably, Simon "held all that reached to the Palace of Queen Helena, the mother of Monobazus," on the north, which Palace was "in the middle of Acra." He also "held as much of the old wall as bent from Siloam to the east and went down to the Palace of Monobazus."

21*st Nisan.*—Titus began the siege and erected three banks and as many auxiliary towers—one at each bank.

7*th Iyar.*—Captured the *First* Wall in fifteen days, at John's Monument, and camped within the city at "the camp of the Assyrians."

12*th Iyar.*—Captured the *Second* Wall the *first* time, in five days, at a point near the Tower of Furnaces, and where "the narrow streets led obliquely to the wall," and made such a confusion as to disconcert the attacking force. On this day the banks against Antonia were commenced; and finished in seventeen days.

16*th Iyar.*—Captured the *Second* Wall the *second* time, at the same point, in four days and demolished it, and put guards in the towers left towards the old Valley Gate. I believe it is generally

conceded that while the text of our author uses the word "city" in this connection, he meant "wall." There seems to be no intimation anywhere that there was a "ditch" of any kind about this wall or the First Wall, unless there be a covert suggestion that the *banks* against the latter meant something of the kind. There were no banks, apparently, against the Second Wall; the engines were brought directly to the attack—excepting in the case of Antonia.

If ever the remains of the Second Wall are found, it would seem that near by where it was breached some relics from the "braziers" might be discovered.

16*th to* 20*th Iyar.*—Titus rested his army *four* days and paid up the money due to the soldiers, and hoped the respite and the military display on "pay day" might bring the Jews into a mood to surrender.

21*st Iyar.*—No sign of yielding on the part of the Jews appeared. So Titus began *two* banks against the *Third* Wall—one at John's Monument, and the other at the Pool Amygdalon—against the great Palace-Citadel. These were completed in eight days.

29*th Iyar.*—The two banks at Antonia and the two at John's Monument and the Pool Amygdalon were completed on this day.

2*nd* (?) *Siran.*—The banks at Antonia undermined and destroyed by John.

4*th* (?) *Siran.*—The banks against the Palace-Citadel destroyed by fire after a fierce contest. A suggestion may here be made that the three great towers, Hippicus, Phasaelus, and Mariamne, which Josephus says were on the northern part of this old wall, would necessarily be outside of the Second Wall and would require so much space as to place the latter wall east of Amygdalon. During these days, the sufferings and sorrows of the besieged were intense. Murder and pillage everywhere within the city, and wholesale crucifixion of deserters without the city, till the number of the latter was so great "that room was wanting for the crosses and crosses wanting for the bodies," bespeaking a condition beyond description. The Romans were discouraged by the destruction of their banks, "and many despaired of taking the city with the usual engines of war only."

5*th Siran.*—They began the great wall of contravallation to inclose the whole city. This wall finished in three days' time.

8th Sivan.—Reconstruction of banks, at Antonia only, begun at once and the work now carefully guarded—so much so that the Jews, although reckless in their dogged despair, were not able to create any effective or permanent hindrance. Their sallies were evidently mainly by the Sheep Gate, and no suitable ground could be had for an attack in force. In rounding the corner and advancing against the banks, the steep incline of the slope very likely afforded a rather narrow path for the attacking party, so that under the heavy response from the Roman ranks and engines, "the man that fell became an impediment to him that was next him."

1st Tammuz.—An unsuccessful attack by the Jews on this day was followed by the Romans with most strenuous exertion, bringing up and placing their engines in position on the banks against the fortress. This night, a portion of the wall—partly undermined by the besiegers, shaken by the battering rams, and its foundations weakened by John's mines—suddenly fell down, to the great discouragement of the Jews. But the appearance of an improvised wall within was an equally great disappointment to the Romans. Still, they considered this new wall weaker and more easily approached, but not without great danger and sacrifice of life.

Titus fully realized the importance of the capture of Antonia and, to fire his soldiers to further deeds of daring in the work, made a great speech to them in which the following remarkable words occur, viz.; "For if we go up to this Tower of Antonia, we gain the city; . . . . . since we shall then be on top of the hill," etc., *B.J.* 6, ch. 1, § 5.

This shows that at this time there was an elevation still there. It agrees perfectly with what is said in *B.J.* 5, ch. 4, § 1, speaking of the Asmoneans. "They then took off part of the height of Acra," and, of course, left a part of it *in situ*. This will not fit on to the new site of Acra south of the Temple. This remaining hump was there in the days of Herod and Titus, wherever you place Acra, but surely not in the new location, where it ought to have been noted by some historian, and by no one more certainly than the painstaking Josephus, if it had been there.

3rd Tammuz.—Fired by the speech of Titus, which was delivered at this time, Sabinus and eleven other soldiers resolved to make the attempt to capture the new wall, but failed after a heroic effort.

6th Tammuz.—At three o'clock in the morning of this day, sixteen devoted men determined to capture this important point, where the breach had been made, and were completely successful, and their success assured by the prompt response of the besieging forces bringing suitable aid. A terrible hand-to-hand battle was now fought at the entrance to the Temple from Antonia, which lasted till one p.m., and ended in the Romans being driven back into the Castle. In this fight, as in all other actions in this Northern Court of the Outer Temple, the limited arena was a prominent factor in all that transpired, "the men being intermixed one with another and confounded by reason of the narrowness of the place," etc.

7th Tammuz.—At about five o'clock in the afternoon of this day, the Jews made a fanatical attack on the wall of contravallation along the skirts of Olivet, but were driven back after a stubborn and fiercely fought battle.

17th Tammuz.—Titus ordered a ready passage, for his army to come up, to be made through Antonia. On this day "the daily sacrifice failed."

18th Tammuz.—After another overture had been made to John to surrender and rejected by him in the most bitter terms, Titus resolved to press the siege with the utmost vigour.

He could not bring his whole force into action because "the place was so narrow,"—all this in and around the spacious (?) Antonia!

So he selected a picked body of men and, putting them under Cerealis, hurled them against the Temple. He intended this attack to be a "surprise" to the Jews, but the fight commenced immediately on the advent of the Romans and raged from three a.m. without cessation till after eleven a.m., and resulted practically in a drawn battle.

22nd Tammuz.—The Jews fired the North-Western Cloister on this day and thus destroyed twenty cubits of it and rendered it practically useless to the Romans.

24th Tammuz.—The Romans now, in turn, to the disadvantage of the Jews, set fire to the remaining portion of this cloister, and after a further length of fifteen cubits had been burned, the Jews "cut off its roof" at the Northern Cloister to save the latter from destruction, and thus separated Antonia wholly from the Temple.

How are we to understand this? "I will show mine opinion" as briefly as possible. It is evident that the total length of this North-Western Cloister was thirty-five cubits—about forty-two feet. Its elevated floor ran from the Northern Cloister to the entrance to Antonia, possibly on a level with "the landing" of the steps at the north-west corner of the Outer Court, whatever that level may have been, and which entrance to Antonia would fall between the two southern towers. This North-Western Cloister afforded a fine covered way from the Castle into the Outer Court, which covert was well supplemented by the Northern and Western Cloisters at the point of entrance. Hence the motive of the Jews in trying to destroy it. Also, after the Antonia end was destroyed, the remaining portion became a menace to the Romans and, as a defensive measure, was destroyed by Titus.

It is my impression that the space between Antonia and the Northern Cloister (forty feet wide, more or less) was cut down to a level with the North Court of the Temple. Also, that the South-Eastern Tower of Antonia (eighty-four feet high) stood further south than the South-Western Tower—as close to the Northern Cloister as freedom from easy assault from the roof of that cloister would permit. This left room for a passage-way around its base from the Sheep Gate to a gate through the cloister wall at a point opposite to the Gate Moked of the Inner Court. This entrance would be necessary for persons or sacrificial animals coming in by the Sheep Gate. The position of this South-Eastern Tower, coupled with its elevation and height, we all know had for its object the securing a view of the Temple grounds; and yet the roof of the Northern Cloister must have been more or less of an obstruction.

On this same 24th day of Tammuz, the passage-way, ordered for bringing up the army through Antonia, was finished and the Romans began the construction of four banks against the Temple. Josephus distinctly states that two of these banks were erected against "the first" (the Inner) Court, and two against "the Outer" Court. Of the two against the Inner Court one was erected at the north-western corner of the House Moked, and one against the Gate Moked, or "the northern exhedra which was between the two gates." Both of these banks were in the Northern Court of the Outer Temple. Of the two banks against the Outer Court one was against the northern end of the Western Cloister, and one against the wall of the Northern Cloister. Both of these banks were between Antonia

and the Northern Cloister. These two banks were needed as support on the flanks of the other two. The material for the two inner banks could be taken through the passage gate above mentioned and, perhaps, also partly through the gate proper which led to Antonia, if the order for "digging up foundations" to make a way to the Temple did not include a breaking through the wall of the Northern Cloister, which I strongly suspect was the case. At least, something of the kind was done a little later, when a passage for the "chosen horsemen" undoubtedly was there—on the 10th day of Ab. I may also add that a strong Roman guard must have been placed in the Northern Court, to the east of the banks, at this time. There was one there a few days later, without any indication of the time when it was so placed. There probably was a like occupancy of the Court west of the Temple.

27*th Tammuz.*—Such being the surrounding conditions, the Jews, as a defensive measure, were forced to burn the Western Cloister, which they did on this day. It was destroyed throughout its whole length, as far as the Prophet's Gate, at or near which John had erected a tower for more secure defence against Simon.

28*th Tammuz.*—On this day the Romans retaliated and strengthened their position by burning down the whole of the Northern Cloister, even to its junction with Solomon's Porch. I doubt not they would have done this sooner, had not Titus been so anxious to preserve the Temple and its surroundings as nearly intact as possible.

2*nd Ab.*—The Romans began battering the Inner Court on this day with such engines as could be used before the rams could be brought into action, and continued the attack for six days without making any impression on the immensely strong walls.

8*th Ab.*—On this day the two banks against the House Moked and its gate were finished and the heaviest rams mounted for action. The other two banks were rendered useless by the burning of the cloisters on the 27th and 28th of Tammuz and abandoned. The most powerful engines also proved ineffectual against these memorable walls. The attack by these was supplemented by a futile effort to undermine the Gate Moked. An attempt to scale the walls with the help of ladders was also made and resulted in defeat and the unbearable disgrace of the Romans losing their ensigns. As a last resort, the order was issued to set fire to the Gate Moked. This

was done, and soon the fire was raging through the inner cloisters and urged to greater fierceness by the enraged soldiers.

9*th Ab.*—On this day the burning continued until, at the close of the council held by Titus and his commanders to decide the fate of the Temple, the order was given to quench the fire and make a way for bringing up the army for a final assault.

10*th Ab.*—The Jews, after a day's rest, early in the morning of this day made a sortie from the East Gate and were immediately in contact with the Roman guards in the North Court. This battle raged with fury from seven a.m. to eleven a.m. During the fight Titus was obliged to send "some chosen horsemen" to the aid of his troops. In a very short time after this the Jews assailed the Roman guards who were quenching the fire and clearing a road at the Gate Moked. They were driven back and pursued to the Holy House itself, around which the last battle for the Temple was fought; and amid scenes of carnage and human blood around and on the great altar, the torch was applied and that glorious Temple was destroyed, never again to be rebuilt as a sacred fane under the ritual of the Old Dispensation.

10*th to* 14*th Ab.*—Continued burning around the Temple, firing the remaining cloisters and butchering thousands of the miserable populace of every age and sex, who had taken refuge therein. The Roman soldiers carried their ensigns into the Temple and offered sacrifice to them, and "proclaimed Titus Imperator with the greatest acclamations of joy." This, presumably, took place in the Women's Court where, after final capture of the city, Fronto held a court of adjudication, as over a prison pen, and decided the fate of many thousands of captives, releasing some, sending others to the executioner's sword, to bonds in the mines, or to the auction block of the slave.

15*th Ab.*—Some priests, who were concealed about the heavy walls of the Temple, surrendered and were relentlessly butchered.

16*th* (?) *Ab.*—A parley was held over Herod's Bridge between Titus and the Tyrants, but without reaching an agreement. A proclamation issued withdrawing all amnesty previously allowed. An order given to burn the city.

17*th* (?) *Ab.*—The lower city burned as far north as Queen Helena's Palace, which was in the midst of Acra.

18*th* (?) *Ab.*—The forces of the Tyrants, completely driven out of the lower city, rush into the Palace-Citadel and, to make room for themselves, butcher several thousand refugees and prepare to resist the Romans. The lower city burned as far south as Siloam and the Palace of Monobazus.

19*th* (?) *Ab.*—The Tyrants continue ruthless murder and pillage, and put forth the greatest effort to prevent desertion to the enemy.

20*th Ab.*—To take the upper city, Titus on this day ordered banks to be raised against Herod's Palace on the west, and in the Tyropœon Valley, from the old wall along by the Xystus to Herod's Bridge and Simon's Tower at its western end, built for a defence against John. These banks were completed in eighteen days.

7*th Elul.*—During these days there was continued rapine and plunder by the Romans of what little the Jewish robbers had left. Also continual surrenders of notable persons and quantities of valuables kept up until this day, when the banks were finished and the machines brought against the wall.

8*th Elul.*—And now all was consternation and dread. The insolent and arrogant chiefs, paralyzed with fear, voluntarily deserted the last stronghold of the upper city and, failing to escape from the toils about them, went down into the mazes of underground Jerusalem—"this was no better than a dream of theirs," says Josephus, "for they were not able to lie hid either from God or the Romans."

The frenzied soldiers of Titus fired the city everywhere, broke down the walls, entered the caverns, and pursued the remnants of the decimated populace, old and young, men, women, and children, armed or unarmed, suppliant or defiant, with fire and sword and all the rapine and butchery of old time relentless war.

Blood of Jew and Gentile flowed like water, and Jerusalem went out into a long night of darkness and ruin.

"O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, ... behold, your house is left unto you desolate."

THE EASTERN METROPOLITAN, ARCHIEPISCOPAL AND EPISCOPAL SEES UNDER THE PATRIARCHATE OF JERUSALEM.[1]

By the Rev. Caleb Hauser.

Palæstina Secunda, the Metropolitan see of Scythopolis, or Bethshan, surrounded the Sea of Galilee; Palæstina Tertia, the Metropolitan see of Petra, extended from the Mojib to beyond Elath and Mount Sinai on the south. Reaching around Palæstina Tertia to the archbishopric of Elath on the south, and around Palæstina Secunda to Mount Hermon on the north, Palæstina Quarta extended from the River Jordan and the Dead Sea unto the eastern or Syrian Desert. Of the Second and Third Palestines those sees only which were east of the Jordan-and-Arabah depression will come under our observation.

First of the archbishoprics of the Second Palestine east of Jordan is *Gadeiron* or Gadaron, a little see on the east extending as far as Petra (where it touched the western archbishopric of Diocaesarea) and as far as the great bridge (the extent of the archbishopric of Tiberias), and as far as the monastery of the Tithe. It was thus on the shore of Lake Galilee, from the Jisr Benât Ya'ḳûb on the north to a little south of Gadara (Umm Keis). Here it was adjacent to the bishopric of Pella.

The archbishopric of *Meron* or Meru, perhaps named after the Waters of Merom, extended on the south "to the torrent," *i.e.* the Yarmûk, and on the east "half-way between this see and that of Ausitis," or Palæstina Quarta, and as far as the tower of Sylitus, which we may identify with Tesîl, some 5 or 6 miles south-west of Nawâ. Before its transfer from the Metropolitan see of Bostra,

[1] Accurate knowledge of the boundaries of the various sees is chiefly derived from Palmer's copy of a manuscript in the library of the Patriarchate of Jerusalem, containing a list of Metropolitan, Archiepiscopal, and Episcopal towns in the see of the Holy City of Jerusalem, *Desert of the Exodus*, pp. 550–554.

or Ausitis, Meron had been a bishopric named Gaba; but as an archbishopric subject to the Patriarchate of Jerusalem, it comprised the bishoprics of Gaba, Elenopolis, Hippos, Tetrakomia, Clima-Gaulanae, the village of Nais, Epheca, and Nes. Hippos and Epheca (Aphek) are well known. Clima-Gaulanae, second after Hippos, was in all probability at Sahem ej-Jaulân (the ancient Golan), near the eastern boundary of this archbishopric. Gaba, or Gabaon, was probably at el-Jibein, a little north-east of Aphek. The western boundary of this see thus passed between Aphek and the Sea of Galilee northward to the Waters of Merom.

The *archbishopric of Capitolias* extended as far as "the great mountain," *i.e.*, Jebel 'Ajlûn, and on the left as far as the torrent which separates it from *Zeni* (? *Mera*). Undoubtedly this see extended to the Yarmûk on the north, and quite to Remtheh on the east; for it included the bishopric of Pella west of, and the bishopric of Abila north of, the *bishopric* of Capitolia. That of Abila probably came down to the Roman Road. From De Saulcy (*Dead Sea and Bible Lands*, vol. ii, p. 429) I learn that Col. Lapie (in the Itineraries published by M. de Fortia) has already proposed the identification of Capitolias with Beit er-Râs. Some of M. Lapie's measurements did not correspond with the distances given in the Itinerary of Antonine and in the Peutinger Tables. Instead of 36 R. miles from Neve to Capitolias, he computed the distance from Nawâ to Beit er-Râs at 30 R. miles. But along the roads, as indicated on the P.E.F. Map, the distance is evidently about 36 R. miles. In Peutinger's Table (Itinerary from Caesarea to Philadelphia) Capitolias is placed 16 miles from both Gadara and Edrei; whereas the distance from Beit Râs to ed-Der'aah seems to be about 21 R. miles, a difference of 5 miles. Probably a V was substituted for an X. From Beit Râs to Umm Keis Col. Lapie measured 16 R. miles, as in the Itineraries. We now have sufficient evidence for the identification. The Jerusalem manuscript shows that the bishopric of Capitolias was south of Abila. So also then the city; which, furthermore, (compare the Itineraries with Eusebius *ad vocem* Ἄβελ) was 4 miles farther from Gadara than Abila was. The site indicated is Beit Râs. Any site *farther* south, or south-west would be more than 36 R. miles from Nawâ. Finally, the Arabic name, Beit Râs, seems to be equivalent to the Latin Capitolias (Râs = caput), both Capitolias and Beit Râs being in the respective languages

appropriate (and idiomatic) names for a city on an elevation. The P.E.F. Map shows Beit Râs as the highest point in northern Gilead.

Palæstina Tertia, the Metropolitan see of Petra, included five bishopries east of the 'Arabah: Augustopolis, Arindela, Charagmucha, Areopolis, and Helas, or Elath. Northward it extended to the river Chise or Chose, and to the river Mojib. In Chise we recognize el-Hessi, the name of a wâdy at the southern extremity of the Dead Sea. Originally the name Chise must have belonged to the upper wâdy, which is now called Wâdy Garahy, Wâdy Siddeiyeh, and Seil Garahy; the lower wâdy (now el-Hessi) was the "great torrent" which divided the archbishopric of Cyriacopolis (Kerak) from the Metropolitan see of Petra. The river Chise was between Moab and Gabet, or *Gabalon*. The eastern boundary of Moab was also that of the diocese of Cyriacopolis, which included the bishoprics of Charagmucha and Areopolis (Kerak and Rabbah). Gabalon (el-Jeb'al) south of the river Chise, and east of Petra, was also an archbishopric, and perhaps included the bishoprics of Augustopolis and Arindela. The MS. says: "It includes all the surrounding country, and is very extensive." It probably extended to Wâdy el-Ithm and the archbishopric of Ailia. Arindela has been satisfactorily identified with Ghurundel. Augustopolis seems to be Zodocatha at el-Asdakah. The radicals (transposed) of Zodocatha, Asdakah, are represented in the Roman name Augustopolis. The territory of the bishopric of Helas, was, it is evident, that of the archbishopric of Ailia, or Aila, on the coast of the Elanitic arm of the Red Sea. The north-western boundary of this see is not given, but was probably the Desert of et-Tih. From the Red Sea it extended to Wâdy el-Ithm, presumably the southern boundary of the sees of Petra and Gabalon, and (farther east) of Ausitis, or the Fourth Palestine.

Palæstina Quarta, the Metropolitan see of Bostra (and also its only archbishopric Adria or Dria) was bounded on the south-east by a wâdy (the river Zarnarios, Zarcarios, Zarnacios), which must have been a tributary of "the great torrent" which divided it from Eila (Elath). Adria must have been adjacent to Gabalon, and the archiepiscopal city Adria was evidently Ptolemy's Adra, 55 geographical miles east, and 10 north of the Edomite Bostra. As the name Adria, or Dria does not appear (as it should) in the list of episcopal towns of Palæstina Quarta, it is probable that the Dia

(Dias, Dyas) of that list is corrupt, and should be read Dria. Of the episcopal cities and towns of Ausitis the following have been identified: Adrasus, or Edrei, Medaba, Gerassa, Neve, Philadelphia, Esbus, Canothas, and Salton Bataneos. Others may be identified thus: Dionysia (Ptolemy's Dion) with Tibneh; Tricomia, named before Canothas (Umm el-Kenafid) with the Tricomia which in the *Notitia Dignitatum Imperii Romani* precedes Ziza; Goniah with Ain Jenneh, near Mahanaim; Stanæ with Shutna, near Jebel Kafkafa; Machabera with Kh. Mukubleh, south of the same mountain; Coratha with el-Herath, south of Tell Der'ala; Belbanes with Tell Bileibil, near Tell Nimrîn; Capræ, or Vicus Capron, with Kh. el-Kefrein; Purgo (? arata) with Tell Abu Feraj, just north of Wady 'Ajlun; Ariarcha with Yerka, south of Batânah; Clima of the east and west perhaps with Tell Dâmieh; Ariatha with 'Aireh, near Batânah (or is Ἀριαθα a corrupt form of Ἀμαθα, which we would find at Tell Amateh?); Bebdamus with Abu 'Obeida, near Tell Der'ala.

The boundary of Palæstina Quarta (and of the archbishopric of Capitolias) thus passed over Jebel 'Ajlûn, and just north of Tibneh, but south of Beit Râs and Irbid, towards Remtheh and, leaving Edrei to the right, on up to Tesîl, and thence in a north-westerly direction toward Bânias. On the east, Ausitis had the Syrian Desert as far as the torrent of waters and springs (*Ency. Biblica*, Map of Syria, has Wady Gumar. May we read *Ghamr* = aqua multa?). The remainder of the boundary has been defined as passing down the unknown river Zarcarios to the torrent (probably Wady el-Ithm) dividing this see from Eila. From this torrent it passed up to Seil Garahy, and so on to and along the eastern boundary of Moab, and along the river Mojib to the Dead Sea.

It has been stated that the Salton Hieraticon was east of the Jordan; but it was evidently near Gaza. Furthermore, the Regeon Libiæ, between Regeon Jericho and Regeon Daron, was not at Livias, beyond the Jordan, it seems.

THE DATE OF THE CRUCIFIXION.

By James Simpson, Esq.

The importance of this supreme date of history invests with interest every endeavour to shed light upon a matter which has hitherto baffled the most learned and expert investigators.

Mr. Alpheus Davison, in the April *Quarterly Statement*, makes brief allusion to a parenthetical clause in John xix, 31, which (speaking of the day next following the Crucifixion) states, according to the A.V., that "that sabbath day was an high day." This passage has not perhaps received sufficient attention. The A.V. is certainly inaccurate; and the R.V., though more literal, is not satisfactory; it is: "for the day of that sabbath was a high *day*."

It may be interesting to compare some other versions with these:—

The Twentieth Century N.T. has briefly: "for that Sabbath was a great day"; while the Rheims (Douay) rendering of the Vulgate has "for that was a great Sabbath day." Both of these (like the two preceding) are paraphrases rather than translations; for the Vulgate has: "erat enim magnus dies ille Sabbati;" faithfully translating the original Greek, except in attaching the demonstrative pronoun to *dies* instead of to *Sabbati*.

The Greek is as follows: "*ἦν γαρ μεγάλη ἡ ἡμέρα ἐκείνου του σαββάτου*," which when literally rendered says: "for great was the day of that sabbath." Here *sabbath* is genitive, and is disconnected both from *day* and *great*: and the latter word qualifies *day*, and not *sabbath*.

Hence, in the Dutch version (Elzevier, Leyden, 1663), we properly read: "want die dagh des Sabbaths was groot," *for that day of the Sabbath was great;* yet here again the demonstrative is wrongly attached to *day*. [In the margin is: *Anders*, "want de dagh van dien Sabbath was een groot dagh;" which errs only in supplying *een dagh* unnecessarily.]

Two early Latin texts render as follows:—

1. Munich MS. Lat. 6224: "Erat autē magnus dies illius sabbati," *Moreover great was the day of that sabbath*—a very faithful translation;

2. Vienna Cod. Lat. 502: "erat enī magnus dies sabbati."

With the former of these agrees the translation of Theodore Beza (*c.* 1560), save in the use of *enim* in lieu of *autem*.

It is unnecessary to quote other versions. The Italian of Deodati and the Irish of Archbishop O'Domhnuill rightly follow the Vulgate in retaining *Sabbath* in the genitive, but err with it in giving the demonstrative to *day*; while the Spanish both of Valera and S. Miguel paraphrase thus: "*since it* (or *that*) *was the great day of the Sabbath*," a curious inversion of the meaning. Apart from these last it is strange that our English A.V. should depart most violently from the apparent sense of the passage: (1) in suppressing the genitive case altogether; (2) in supplying *day* after *sabbath* and making *that* qualify both words; (3) by translating μεγάλη *high* in place of *great*; (4) in attaching that adjective directly to a noun (*day*) instead of to the verb *was*, and thus obscuring the emphasis which in the Greek rests upon it. All of which errors are avoided by translating literally: "*for great was the day of that sabbath*."

Now "great" may refer, not to the *importance* of that sabbath (or *sabbatism*), but to its *duration*. If, for example, the Crucifixion took place on Thursday, the Preparation of the Passover (John xix, 14), the sabbatism immediately following would extend over 48 hours, and would naturally and properly be designated "great." The clause in which it is so called is introduced as explanatory of the urgency of the Jews that the bodies should be removed. Underlying the symbolical and spiritual significance of the paschal and all other purificatory precepts of the Mosaic Law was the simple principle of hygienic sanitation. Even Pilate would acknowledge the reasonableness of the Jews' request, the more especially when the alternative was the exposure of the bodies for two whole days instead of one.

Assuming meanwhile that the Crucifixion took place on a Thursday, let us see in what years the 14th Nisan could fall upon that week-day.

In Ch. Ed. Caspari's valuable *Chron. and Geog. Introduction to the Life of Christ* (1868) the author gives a table (from Wurm) of the

Vernal New Moons from A.D. 28 to A.D. 36 with the resulting epochs of 1st Nisan according to that authority. It is as follows:—

A.D.	Time of New Moon.	Day of Week.	1st Nisan, according to Phase.	Day of Week.
	H. M.			
28	15 March, 2 16 A.M. ..	2	[*began*] 16 March ..	3
28	13 April, 4 10 P.M. ..	3	15 April ..	5
29	2 „ 7 42 „ ..	7	4 „ ..	2
30	22 March, 8 8 „ ..	4	24 March ..	6
31	12 „ 12 56 A.M. ..	2	13 „ ..	3
31	10 April, 2 0 P.M. ..	3	12 April ..	5
32	29 March, 10 57 „ ..	7	31 March ..	2
33	19 „ 1 16 „ ..	5	21 „ ..	7
33	17 April, 9 30 „ ..	6	19 April ..	1
34	9 March, 9 2 A.M. ..	3	11 March ..	5
34	7 April, 6 42 P.M. ..	4	9 April ..	6
35	28 March, 6 19 A.M. ..	2	30 March ..	4
36	16 „ 5 53 P.M. ..	6	18 „ ..	1
36	15 April, 5 15 A.M. ..	1	16 April ..	2

The times of New Moons here given may be relied on as agreeing with other estimates within about an hour; but the interval allowed to the *beginning* of 1 Nisan seems in one or two cases to be longer than is necessary, since it is considered that the crescent moon can usually be seen about 24 hours or a little more after conjunction. But taking the table as it stands, the years in which 1 Nisan *began* (and therefore 14 Nisan *ended*) on Thursday, were A.D. 28, 31, and 34.

That the dates in Wurm's second column are those of the *commencement* of 1 Nisan at sunset is strongly insisted on by Caspari; this accords with Wurm's expressed opinion that from 24 to 48 hours should be added to the moon's phase; and is confirmed by the first entry in the table. For if 16 March meant the *currency* and *termination* of 1 Nisan, then only $15\frac{3}{4}$ hours are allowed from conjunction; within which time the new moon could not, according to his rule, or in almost any circumstances, be visible.

Of those who believe that 34 may have been the year of the Passion some adopt the April moon as the Paschal one; considering the March moon to have been too early, and that this year must have been intercalary since a rule existed forbidding intercalation in the following year (35) because it was a sabbatic one. But

(1) this rule, like that restricting the Feast-day to certain days of the week, may only have been introduced by the Sanhedrim of Tiberias, *cir.* A.D. 200; and (2) the March full moon fell so near the equinoctial point that the latter might by the Jews have been supposed to precede it. There is also the pointed testimony of John xviii, 18, 25, as to the coldness of the season, implying an *early* occurrence of the Passover in the year of the Passion. As for the years 28 and 31, in which 14 Nisan also fell on Thursday, the formerly is certainly, and the latter probably, too early to be reconcilable with other data upon which the chronology of the life of Christ depends.

The writer has elsewhere argued in favour of the year 34 as being that of Christ's Passion, founding upon (1) The date of Herod's appointment over Galilee by Antipater—end of 47, or beginning of 46, B.C.; (2) Herod's age at that time—25, and at his death—*over* 70; (3) Christ's birth therefore not before B.C. 1, and probably in September; (4) The Baptist's Call in the 15th of Tiberius—between August, 28 and August, 29; (5) Christ's Baptism probably in December, 29; (6) His Ministry of four years (see Luke xiii, 7, 8), much of which time He spent in Judaea (John ii, 13–iv, 3; v, 1–35; vii, 1, 10; and many other passages, including Luke iv, 42, where important early MSS. read *Judaea* and not *Galilee*); (7) The testimony of antiquity that the 15th of Tiberius was current during the consulship of the two Gemini—A.D. 29; (8) The connection between the imprisonment of John and the war between Herod Antipas and Aretas; and Herod's disastrous defeat, which was only about to be avenged by orders of Tiberius when the emperor's death took place in March, 37; (9) The survival, at the time when Paul wrote 1 Cor. xv, 6, of the great majority (only '*τινες*' being excepted) of 'above 500' witnesses of the risen Christ—a survival possible after about 18 years, but not after 25 to 30.

It remains to be considered whether Mr. Davison may not be right in assigning *Wednesday*, rather than Thursday, as the day of the Crucifixion.

Now, from the new moon on 9th March, 34, at 9.2 A.M., to sunset of 11th March Wurm allows nearly 57 hours for the first appearance of the crescent moon at Jerusalem—surely an excessive interval. The time elapsed to the sunset of the preceding day, Wednesday, 10th March, nearly 33 hours, appears—even from the

second entry in Wurm's table, where barely 26 hours are allowed — to be amply sufficient. It would thus seem that in that year, the Feast-day (15th Nisan), even according to the traditional mode of fixing it, would fall on Thursday, 25th March, and the Preparation therefor, and therefore the day of the Crucifixion (John xix, 14), on Wednesday, 24th March.

Mr. Davison, on the authority of a learned ex-Rabbi, informs us that after the Captivity of Judah, and down to New Testament times, the existence of different modes of fixing the beginning of Nisan, by different sections of the Jews some of whom made use of astronomical knowledge derived from Babylon, caused a difference of *one to three days* in the observance of the Paschal festival. It seems natural to suppose that the astronomical party would fix upon an earlier and not a later day than the traditionalists; and since almost nine hours elapsed between new moon of 9th March and sunset of that day, they might probably fix the beginning of Nisan on that evening, and would therefore eat the Passover at sunset of Tuesday, 23rd March, *the day and hour of full moon* (as Sir Charles Watson informs us in the October *Quarterly Statement*), *the beginning of the Jewish day on which fell the Vernal Equinox, and the precise moment at which Christ Himself sat down to eat the Passover with His disciples.*

If it may be further conjectured that another party among the Jews, of ultra-traditional views, deferred their observance of the Passover to the evening of Thursday, 25th March (the date approved by Wurm), then *to them* Friday, the 26th, would be the Paschal sabbath, and thus, in a sense, the sabbath of the festival might be held to continue from Tuesday evening until it united on Friday evening with the rest of the ordinary weekly sabbath. Great, indeed, would be the "day" or duration of that sabbatism; and the necessity the Jews were under of having the bodies removed from the cross would become the more apparent.

The Table of Paschal Full Moons given in Sir Charles Watson's paper is of much value. It will be noticed that that of March, 34 (he does not give the April moon of that year, or of A.D. 28, 31, and 33), is the only one which appears to coincide *closely* with the time of the Paschal Supper, if we may depend upon the times as given to the *nearest* hour. (If the *minutes*, which Sir Charles has omitted, are reliable, they might with advantage have been added.) The said full moon happened at the close of one Jewish day and

the beginning of another—the third and fourth of the week, corresponding to the greater part of Tuesday and Wednesday; and if the tradition which he cites at foot of page 276 was observed in the time of Christ (which is doubtful), then by some Jews Tuesday, and by some Wednesday might be regarded as the 15th Nisan: with the curious result that, by different parties among the Jews, four different successive days, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday would be observed as the Paschal Sabbath; to be immediately followed (1) by the weekly sabbath acknowledged by all, and (2) by the newly-instituted Christian Sabbath of the first day of the week—a sabbath, if Mr. Davison's opinion as to the hour of Christ's Resurrection be correct, which might or ought properly to be observed from 6 P.M. of the preceding evening.

This new sabbath, again, was immediately followed by four different days—Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday—each of which would be observed, by the different parties, as the Sabbath closing the Paschal solemnities—that of 21st Nisan: and thus we have the remarkable concatenation of *ten* successive days observed, or at least which conceivably might have been observed as sabbaths in this year but perhaps in no other which can be reasonably assigned as that of our Lord's Crucifixion, Burial, and Resurrection.

Caspari shows that it is quite unsafe to be guided by the Calendar of the modern Jews introduced by the Sanhedrim of Tiberias about A.D. 200, as it in many respects differs from that described in tradition; for, according to tradition, the 15th of Nisan, and consequently also the 1st, could fall upon *any* day of the week.

He also gives from Eusebius a quotation from Anatolius of Laodicea (3rd century) which cites from an ancient Jewish Commentary written in the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus the rule that at the Paschal festival the sun as well as the moon must necessarily have passed the equinoctial point. It would therefore be interesting to know the exact hour, as well as day, of the Vernal Equinox, not only in the year 34, but in every other year which could possibly have been that of the Passion. This essential information as to the epochs of new and full moons and the time of the equinox in those years—which one might naturally expect to find in every Bible Dictionary—is strangely difficult to collect even from several special treatises dealing with the chronology of our Saviour's life.

PERRY'S TOUR IN PALESTINE, 1743.

By R. A. S. Macalister, M.A., F.S.A.

The account of a visit to Palestine by Charles Perry, M.D., contained in a large quarto entitled *A View of the Levant, particularly of Constantinople, Syria, Egypt, and Greece* is much less interesting than that of his successor Brown, which I summarised lately in these pages.[1] The greater part of it is a bald list of show places; this is not uninteresting, as it is a very complete catalogue of the sights shown to travellers in the first half of the eighteenth century.

Perry landed at Jaffa, which he describes as "a small compact town, built of stone: in its port to the seaward it has a castle its defence, and three convents." From thence he went to "Ramah" (Ramleh); beyond which "for four or five leagues further, till you come to the mountains, is one continued plain. Its chief produce is cotton." In going to Ramleh from Jaffa Perry and his friends passed through Lydd, where he saw St. George's Church, "built by Edward the Confessor" (!). The early eighteenth century attitude to scenery is amusingly shown by what follows—"At about four leagues from Ramah the pleasures of this fine plain terminated in barbarous craggy mountains which, to our great mortification, continued without intermission to Jerusalem."

The following are the places shown to Perry:—

In the Holy Sepulchre Church.—The place where the soldiers affronted Christ, where they parted His garments, where He was confined while they made the hole in which to place the cross, where He was nailed to the cross, where the cross was fixed, where the soldier stood who pierced His side, place of unction, place where His body was laid in the sepulchre, where the angel appeared to the women after the resurrection, where Jesus appeared to Mary Magdalene, the pillar where He was scourged, the Chapel of Derision, Mount Calvary, the place where the Virgin Mary stood to see the crucifixion, the cleft in the rock: *before the door*, the

[1] See *Q.S.*, 1906, pp. 133–142.

footprint of a Portuguese woman here burnt alive for openly blaspheming the Muhammadan religion on a public procession of that people.

In Jerusalem.—St. Saviour's Convent ("where there are always from fifty to sixty monks"), the Armenian Convent, the place of the Temple, the Temple of the Presentation, the Church of St. Anne, the place of Christ's apparition to Thomas, the Church of St. Thomas, the place where Christ appeared to the women after His resurrection, the Church of St. John (called the House of John and Zebedee), St. Peter's Prison, the House of Mary the mother of John, the House of the Pharisee and of Mary Magdalene, the Piscina Probatica, the remains of David's Tower, the Fountain of Bathsheba, the Tower of Simeon, the Church of Habakkuk, where the angel took him up by the hair of the head and carried him to Babylon, the place of Rama ("A voice was heard in Rama," etc.), the Pillar of Absalom, the Sepulchre of Zacharia, Bethphage, a stone on which Christ sat, the House of Lazarus, the Sepulchre of Lazarus, the House of Simon the Leper, the House of Mary, the House of Martha; the places where Christ spoke of the Judgment, taught the Lord's Prayer, wept over Jerusalem, and ascended into Heaven; the Church of the Apostles, the Cœnaculum, the place where Christ washed the Apostles' feet, where the Holy Ghost descended, the Tomb of David, the place where the lot fell on Matthias, where the Apostles divided, the Tomb of St. Stephen, the place where the Virgin Mary lived and died after the Ascension, the Chapel of St. John the Evangelist, the place where the Jews would have snatched away the body of the Virgin Mary when it was being carried to burial, where Peter wept bitterly, the Palace of Pilate, the Church and Place of Flagellation, the Palace of Herod the Tetrarch, the Ecce Homo arch, the Temple of St. Mary *de spasmo*, the Valley of Jehoshaphat, Gethsemane, where Christ dismissed the eight apostles, where He left the three, where He prayed and sweated blood, where He was betrayed and seized, where Simon was compelled to bear the cross, the House of St. Veronica, a footprint of Christ in the rock, the House of Annas, an olive tree within it to which Christ was tied, House of Caiaphas and Prison of Christ, Church of the Holy Ghost, Port Esquiline, Pool and Fountain of Siloe, Church of the Purification of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Fountain of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Field of Blood, Valley of Gehinnom, Mount of Olives, where St. Thomas stood when the

Blessed Virgin Mary let fall her girdle, the Sepulchre of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Christ's Oratory, Church of the Swooning of the Blessed Virgin Mary, place where Christ said "Weep not for Me, ye daughters of Jerusalem," place of the House of the Rich Glutton.

On the way to Bethany.—The Sepulchre of Absalom, the place of the idol Moloch and Beelphegor, the Sepulchres of Zacharius and Jehoshaphat, the place where the Angels appeared to the apostles after the Ascension, the way through which the Saviour was led after He was seized and bound in the garden, Bethany, Siloam and Gethsemane, a rock in the vale of the torrent of Kedron which bears the impression of our Saviour's feet when He fixed them against it, to prevent His falling as He was hurried along by the soldiers, the Grotto of Saint James, the place where Judas hanged himself and was buried, the Mount of Scandal, En-Rogel, the place where Ahimaaz and Jonathan concealed themselves, the Fountain of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Nehemiah's Well, Isaiah's Sepulchre.

On the way to Bethlehem.—The Grotto where the Angel appeared to announce the Birth of Christ, the cistern where the Blessed Virgin Mary drank, the Vale of Rephaim, the place where was the House of Simeon, the place of the turpentine tree, where the Blessed Virgin Mary rested under its shade [this tree was destroyed before 1780, when the Abbé Mariti visited the country], Mar Elyas, the well where the Star appeared to the Magi, the Tomb of Rachel, the Garden of Vetches petrified by the Blessed Virgin Mary, the Chapels of Saints Paul, Eustachius, and Eusebius of Cremona.

On Mar Elyas and the Tomb of Rachel Perry makes two of his infrequent comments. Of the former he sagely remarks "the impression [in the stone, said to be impressed by St. Elias's body] much resembles that of a man's back; and perhaps the saint, by long using it as a bed, might wear it away in that manner, hard as it is: for *gutta cavat lapidem, non vi, sed saepe cadendo*" (!). His comment on Rachel's Tomb is equally naive—it is "not improbable that this may be the place of her burial; but the tomb can't be that made by Jacob, it being in a modern and Turkish taste."

In the Church of Bethlehem.—The place where Christ was born, where He was laid in the manger, where Joseph was warned of the Angel, where the Innocents were buried, where Joseph was buried, the Oratory of St. Jerome, the House of Joseph.

Beyond Bethlehem.—Tekoa, Desert of En-gedi, the Frank Mountain, Solomon's Pools, Castle and Sealed Fountain, the *Horti*

Conclusi of Solomon, the Wilderness of St. John ['Ain el-Habîs], the Castle of the Maccabees, the House of Samuel, the House of Amos on the summit of a high hill, St. John's Church, the place where the Blessed Virgin Mary met St. Elisabeth, and some vestiges of St. Joseph's home, Philip's Fountain, the place where Christ joined company with the two apostles, the House of Cleophas, the Fountain of Samuel.

Several of the above sites I am unable to identify, and it seems as though some of these show-places have been forgotten.

Almost the only break in this arid catalogue is the following incident, which shows that the "crank" had already reached Jerusalem—"An English gentlewoman was there some years ago who . . . being somewhat crazy would go in her own country habit, and did so: and some Turks, looking scoffingly at her one day, as she passed along the streets, she pulled a cross out of her bosom; and shaking it at them, said, 'Come here, you infidel dogs, come and worship this!' They suspected it was an insult and affront to their religion by the manner of it, and were a-going to mob her, and seize her: but the monks and others, who were to accompany her, speaking the country language told them, she was a mad-woman, and that there was neither sense nor meaning in what she said and did; and by that means they brought her off scot free."

ANCIENT PALESTINE.

By Stanley A. Cook, M.A.

I.—*Earliest Period.*

Year by year the horizon of the serious student of the Old Testament is widened by the increasing accumulation of material bearing directly or indirectly upon his subject. It is no longer possible to regard the Israelites as a people holding an isolated position; they are now found to take their place in the ancient world with others closely related to them in race, language and

thought. No longer may one confine oneself to their writings, which have been preserved in the Old Testament, without taking into account the many conditions by which they have been influenced, and the factors which have left their mark upon its pages. New worlds have been opened up by Egyptology and Assyriology: excavation in Palestine itself and in the adjacent lands has revealed an amount of culture which could never have been imagined; continued research among Semites, whether in Arabia, Palestine, Syria, or Mesopotamia, has brought to light features of cult and custom identical with, analogous to, or illustrative of ancient conditions and life. It is now recognized that there is much in the institutions of the Israelites which was common to them with their neighbours. "Thus, their beliefs about the origin and early history of the world, their social usages, their code of civil and criminal law, their religious institutions, can no longer be viewed, as was once possible, as differing in kind from those of other nations, and determined in every feature by a direct revelation from Heaven; all, it is now known, have substantial analogies among other peoples, the distinctive character which they exhibit among the Hebrews consisting in the spirit with which they are infused and the higher principles of which they are made the exponent."[1]

As everyone knows, the Old Testament is replete with problems immediately one seeks below the surface for the religion, history, archæology or sociology of the people in whose midst it took birth. Many of these problems may be insoluble, since the book has had a lengthy history, and one can scarcely hope to recover long lost information which will elucidate all obscurities. But many representations and statements only appear in their proper perspective when studied in the light thrown upon them from outside. It is true that the discoveries upon Israelite soil have not yet been of such far-reaching importance as those in adjacent countries; but considering the restricted extent of excavation hitherto, the results have been comparatively richer and more stimulating, and there is every hope that with the means to pursue such research further, discoveries of a more historical character (viz., inscriptions) will be found.

It is evident that the rich archæological results of recent years

[1] Prof. Driver in Hogarth, *Authority and Archæology*, p. 7 *sq.*

form one class of evidence; the contemporary historical inscriptions another; whilst records written after the events themselves stand upon quite another plane. With the help of these there is now so much material accessible in valuable monographs, articles, etc., that a reconstruction of the history of Ancient Palestine bids fair to be soon within the realms of possibility. But it is necessary to remember that a great deal of the evidence is inevitably still incomplete, and the required connecting links between the various classes are still often more or less hypothetical. It would be precarious to make any indiscriminate combination of heterogeneous evidence or to institute comparisons between different fields when the historical relationships are obscure. Since research is likely to be as fruitful in the future as in the past, it would be premature to attempt to weave the distinct threads into one web, and consequently it is proposed in these sketches of Ancient Palestine to treat the evidence separately. The historical records of the Old Testament will not be handled, since it is now recognized that they must first be subjected to criticism. This, however, it would not be desirable to undertake in these pages, and it must suffice to say that they can have but one meaning, and that the truest interpretation everywhere will more probably be recovered by treating the evidence independently, than by injudicious comparison. Moreover, it is proposed to ignore for the present the equally independent data which are purely archæological, and we shall endeavour to confine ourselves as far as possible to the external history of Palestine alone. When we perceive that we have on the one hand, human documents, records emanating from the Israelites, written in different ages, and subject to a variety of influences; and on the other hand, when we consider the remarkable manner in which, year by year, Palestine is being forced to disclose her secrets, and the ancient past is being revealed with greater clearness, it will no doubt be recognized that a consideration of external political events is one of the preparations to a right conception of Hebrew history.

Whilst light in abundance has been cast upon Egypt and Babylonia, in the earliest times we know little enough of the history of Palestine itself.[1] Although Israel's great neighbours have left us monuments which take us back at least to the fourth millennium before Christ, it is not until about the fifteenth century B.C. that

[1] The following remarks may be supplemented by the instructive account given by L. B. Paton, *The Early History of Syria and Palestine* (1902), chaps. i and ii.

the "least of all lands" enters into the glare of history. Not that it had had no history previously—the archæological results speak with no uncertain voice regarding its inhabitants, but the comparatively small extent of excavation in Palestine has not yet succeeded in unearthing those native records with *definite* chronological data which, it is hoped, will some day be forthcoming. Consequently, the historian is necessarily obliged to rely partly upon the general evidence supplied by those archæological remains which underlie strata of the fifteenth century, and partly upon general considerations based upon the trend of later periods or upon the development in neighbouring lands.

It is probable that the wave of migration from Arabia, which spread over South-Western Asia and peopled the land with Semites, did not leave Palestine untouched. That this is something more than mere probability finds support in the ethnology of ancient Palestine, which points to the superimposition of a Semitic type upon an earlier and non-Semitic race. The date of this, the *first* Semitic movement, has been fixed approximately, from Babylonian evidence, for the fourth millennium, but whether the Egyptians entered Egypt at the same time and what was the character of the races among whom the Semites settled, are problems which cannot be discussed with profit here.[1] The movement in question is one that is readily intelligible when one glances at the map and observes how the lines of departure from Arabia diverge at a point almost equidistant from Palestine and Babylonia. The great Syrian desert which extends from the fringe of the fertile country east of the Jordan to the Euphrates must be encompassed at the northern or southern end, and consequently the proximity of the Syrian states and Assyria on the one hand, and of Arabia on the other, are two of the many factors which have to be taken into consideration throughout the whole extent of Palestinian history.

Until the vexed question of Egyptian chronology has been settled and there is more agreement in the dates ascribed to Dynasties I XVII, it would be unsafe to combine Egyptian evidence with that from Babylonia where, too, a certain amount of obscurity still prevails. Already, during the first few Egyptian

[1] The origin of the traces of Semitic structure in the Egyptian language has been recently discussed by Prof. Breasted in his admirable *History of Egypt*, p. 25 *sq.* Some of the points of contact, however, upon which stress is often laid, are extremely speculative.

dynasties,[1] there was intercourse between Egypt and the Sinaitic peninsula, whose mines were worked for the sake of their mineral wealth.[2] With desert tribes of the district there were frequent conflicts, and it is interesting to observe that the Bedouin are depicted with unmistakably Semitic features. Indeed, Prof. Petrie observes that the face of the Sinaitic chieftain represented upon the monument of Semerkhet is very much like that of the present chief! To what extent Egypt had dealings with the south of Palestine itself is not known with certainty, although it is naturally probable that the tribes to the east of the Delta, with whom the Egyptians were familiar, were in close touch with those more to the north.

At the close of the IIIrd Dynasty, Snefru,[3] one of the most energetic of early kings, whose reputation outlived him for a thousand years, had commercial relations with North Palestine and sent a large fleet of vessels to obtain cedars from Lebanon through the port of Byblos. In Egypt itself wood was scarce and expensive, and it is repeatedly found in later history that it was upon Palestine and Syria that Egypt relied for the supply of timber superior to the native date-palm, sycamore, tamarisk, and acacias. A few centuries later, Pepi I (VIth Dynasty) comes to the front for his vigorous foreign policy, a remarkably interesting account of which is preserved in the biography of Uni, one of his trusted officers. This Uni was sent against the Bedouin tribes east of the Delta,[4] who, as had often been the case in the past, had made incursions or had interfered with the mining operations in Sinai. A further expedition was made by sea along the Palestinian coast, and its inhabitants were punished by the destruction of their vines and fig-trees, an interesting allusion which proves that agriculture was already practised at this early date. Incidentally, it may be added that the

[1] Prof. Petrie dates Dynasties I–II at 5518 and 5247 B.C., Prof. Breasted, 3400–2980 B.C.! The great Sargon of Babylonia is placed about 3800 or exactly a thousand years later. (The evidence is found in the cylinder-inscription of Nabonidus, *circ.* 550 B.C., who states that he came upon the foundation-stone of Naram-Sin [the son of Sargon], which no king had seen for 3,200 years. It is often assumed that this is simply a mistake for 2,200.)

[2] Prof. Petrie, in his recent work, *Researches in Sinai*, has brought a great deal of fresh light to bear upon relations between Egypt and the Sinaitic peninsula from the Ist Dynasty downwards.

[3] About 2900 B.C. (Breasted), or 4800 (Petrie).

[4] The *amu* in question are perhaps "boomerang-throwers," the Bedouin being frequently represented with this weapon. But the term is used widely of Asiatic peoples.

inscription of Uni is also valuable as containing the first written reference to iron (*ba*).[1]

The Old Kingdom, so far from having been an age of seclusion and isolation, was in communication with surrounding lands. Internally, it was a period of inexhaustible fertility and wealth. Egyptian art was at its zenith, and some of the earliest sculptures have a realism which was never attained in the later ages when art became more and more conventionalised. It has been thought that the infusion of new blood from Ethiopia was responsible for the manifold culture which becomes particularly prominent in the IVth–VIth Dynasties. After this period the history of Egypt becomes a blank. The land was disorganized, and a period of weakness ensued, the cause and duration of which can hardly be determined. It is convenient, therefore, to turn to Babylonia in order to perceive whether this second great ancient seat of culture is likely to have exercised any influence over Palestine. At the outset, it may be mentioned that certain undeniable points of contact have been found between the civilizations of Babylonia and Egypt which may not unnaturally be due to the position of Arabia as the common source;[2] but since, at present, so little is known of the ancient history of that land, and since the period from which the earliest of its extremely interesting inscriptions date is still uncertain, it would be unwise to indulge in any speculation.

With the great Sargon of Agadé and his son Naram-sin evidence for intercourse between Babylonia and Palestine first comes under consideration. Apropos of Sargon, it is scarcely necessary to refer at length to the legend of his lowly origin, which is conspicuous for its numerous parallels in later history. As is well known, Sargon relates how his mother was a vestal (*enîtu*), his father a man of

[1] See H. R. Hall, *Oldest Civilization of Greece*, p. 198. In Babylonia, iron objects, which may date from the time of Gudea (see p. 62), have been found at Telloh. There is reason to suppose that the Babylonians derived their knowledge of it more from outside (*e.g.*, the Chalybes, Tubal, or other iron-working tribes), but meteoric iron may have been not merely venerated but actually used from the earliest times. Hilprecht, on the other hand (*Explorations in Bible Lands*, p. 238), denies the antiquity of iron, and doubts whether it appears in Assyria and Babylonia much before 1000 B.C. The question of the introduction of iron into Palestine is one of the problems yet to be solved.

[2] The possibility that the original home of the Semites was in eastern Africa, and that Arabia was nevertheless the centre from which they spread over other parts of Asia, has been suggested by Nöldeke (*Ency. Brit.* XXI, p. 642), and quite recently urged by Grimme (*Mohammed*, pp. 6–9; Munich, 1904).

obscure origin; his mother placed him in a box of reeds, closed it in with pitch, and cast it upon the river, which bore him along to Akki, the kindly water-carrier, etc., etc.[1] As a matter of fact, the name of Sargon's father is known, and the story seems to be influenced by a "motive" common enough in eastern lands. Sargon himself claims to have extended his conquest over Mar-tu (land of Amorites, *i.e.*, probably Syria), and at least reached the north Syrian coastland. Whether he actually passed over to Cyprus is doubtful. The son Naram-Sin calls himself "king of the four quarters," and a vase, "the spoil of Magan," shows that among his expeditions Arabia was visited. Like his father, he appears to have made conquests in Mesopotamia, and upon a cylinder-seal found at Curium a man calls himself "the servant of the god Naram-Sin." This, it is true, might indicate the persistence of a tradition that Cyprus was visited, but the object appears to be late (of the seventh century), and it is obvious that it may have been carried to Cyprus.[2]

It has been observed that it is uncertain whether the dates of Sargon and Naram-Sin should be placed at about 3800 or 2800 B.C. In the absence of evidence to the contrary there is no strong objection to our accepting the higher date. There is more uncertainty, however, regarding the date of Ur-nina, founder of the dynasty of Lagash, who brought cedar-wood from Ma'al, and of Lugal-zaggisi, who asserts that his rule extended "from the lower sea to the upper sea," *i.e.*, to the Mediterranean. Ma'al is naturally to be identified with some cedar-bearing locality in Lebanon or, possibly, in the Amanus mountains. The view that these flourished about 3200–2900 B.C. has been very generally accepted, but has not as yet been proved; an earlier date is not excluded. A more vivid picture is furnished by the inscriptions of Gudea of Lagash, whose preparations for his building operations are detailed at length. There is considerable doubt as to the identification of the places whence he obtained his gold, alabaster, precious stones, and various kinds of wood,[3] although, when all allowance is made, intercourse

[1] A number of parallels are collected by A. Jeremias, *Das Alte Testament im Lichte des Alten Orients*, p. 255 *sq.*; *Babylonisches im Neuen Testament*, pp. 28 *sqq.*

[2] See H. R. Hall, *op. cit.*, p. 113.

[3] The *khullup*-wood which he obtained from Gubin is identified with the *kharub*-wood inlaid with gold which Thotmes III got from Syria.

with North Palestine (at least), Syria, and Arabia seems certain. Thus Tidanum, a mountain of Martu whence alabaster was brought, has been identified with the name Dedan, or has been located in the Anti-Lebanon. Copper was dug out at Kagalad, a mountain of Mash, which has been variously taken to be Hermon or an Arabian place. At all events, the mere fact that material could be collected from a number of obviously distant places, implies long-established trade-routes by land and by sea, previous intercourse with tribes, and the possession of such knowledge as the work of building entailed. The probable date of Gudea has been fixed at 2650 B.C.

A passing reference to the obscure period of Gimil-Sin, one of the kings of Ur, is necessary, since he is said to have constructed "the wall of Martu called Murik-tidnim," and together with his predecessors Ur-gur and Dungi claims to have ruled over a territory as extensive as that of Naram-Sin. Dungi raised his daughter to the rank of lady of Markhashi, apparently Mar'ash, probably to cement by a marriage his commercial relations with the Taurus district. Dungi mentions among his expeditions the names of Simuru (? Simyra on the coast of North Syria) and Mash. Specific reference to Palestine itself is wanting, although it would not be unnatural to assume that Babylonian influence was already making itself felt.

As we approach the middle of the third millennium B.C., the first signs of the great Elamite invasion of the east begin to appear. The Elamites appear to be of the same race as the Kassites of later ages, and are typical of the waves which from time to time spread southwards from the north and north-east. It is, roughly speaking, about this period that a second wave of Semitic migration flowed out of Arabia and left its mark most prominently in the Babylonian Dynasty, now famous through the name of Khammurabi. Whether one may venture to associate the movement with the blank that appears in Egyptian history is, of course, highly problematical. The fact that the beginning of the Middle Empire (the XIth Dynasty) is assigned by the latest authorities to dates separated from each other by more than a thousand years obviously precludes any conjectural attempt.

(*To be continued.*)

CHEPHÎRAH OF BENJAMIN.

By E. W. G. Masterman, M.A., F.S.A.

(The following interesting description of a little-known Benjamite locality, by our valued correspondent Mr. Masterman, was originally contributed to *Home Words*, a Jerusalem monthly publication.—Ed.)

"Chephîrah is first mentioned in Joshua ix, 17, as one of the four cities of the Gibeonites; the others were Gibeon (*el Jîb* behind *Nebi Samuêl*), Beeroth (generally identified as the present *Bireh* on the road to *Nablûs*), and Kirjath-Jearim (possibly *Kuriet en 'enab* more commonly called *Abu Ghosh*). It is clear that Chephîrah was an important place. It is mentioned again in Josh. xviii, 26, as one of the cities of Benjamin, in association with Mizpeh (supposed to be *Nebi Samuêl*) and Mozah (which has been identified by Buhl with *Kulôneh*). The name occurs again in Ezra ii, 25, and Neh. vii, 29, and in the form Caphira in 1 Esdras v, 19; each of these passages refers to the townships represented among the returning Israelites.

"In 1852, the learned Prof. Edward Robinson (*Researches*, Vol. III, p. 146) writes: 'At Yalo, we were told of a ruin in the mountains on the east, said not to be far off, called *Kefir*. It was, however, now too late for us to visit it from Yalo, nor were we able afterwards to make an excursion to it from Jerusalem. But in the name Kefîr it is impossible not to recognise the ancient Caphirah, a city of the Gibeonites . . . . From that day to this it has remained unknown.'

"The merit of discovering the site of Ancient Caphirah thus belongs to Robinson, but, as a matter of fact, the site in question is not *Kefir* but, which is much more like the old name, *Kefireh*. The Palestine Exploration Fund survey (*Memoirs*, Vol. III, p. 103) gives the name correctly, but their eight lines of description give but little idea of the interesting position of this ancient site.

"As on Sept. 7th I, quite by chance, found myself there and, as I have found no description of the place, beyond the eight lines mentioned above, I venture here to describe briefly my visit.

"It was in the course of a visit to *Kubaibeh* that my sight was arrested by the appearance of a lofty hill to the west which, unlike its neighbours, was covered with brush-wood and had a flattened top, clearly artificial. It was manifestly a *tell* covering an ancient site. At the suggestion of Canon Marriott we made a walk there. We descended the valley to the west of the Franciscan Convent, following the line of an ancient road. About half-way, we reached an ancient spring excavated, like most of them in the district, a long way into the hill-side. Here we left the road and kept along the terraced hill-side gradually ascending among fine old olives. At length, just an hour after starting, we reached our destination. Below the artificial hill-top, on the north-east, is a beautiful grove of trees, and among them we found a group of boys who informed us that the place was known as *Jebal Kefireh*. The whole level top of the hill is surrounded by a great quadrilateral wall of massive stones, some of which are drafted. The top wall is 10 to 15 feet high outside, though on the level of the earth inside, and several high terraces lie immediately below. The whole area is thick with fragments of ancient (Roman) pottery, including many jar-handles, none, so far as I saw, inscribed. The most striking thing about *Jebal Kefireh* is the surroundings. The mountain mass, of which the artificial hill is the western point and the summit, is isolated by two wadys, the northern one arising at Kubaibeh, and the southern, a very deep and rocky valley, commencing to the west of the little village of *Katanneh*, which lies at its bottom. The two join immediately to the west of *Kefireh* and run west to *Yalo* (Ajlun). Above these valleys, the site of Chephirah towers: it is the place for a fortress post, as the *Wady el Katneh* must ever have been a vulnerable spot. From the lofty summit we see a great stretch of the Plain of Sharon with Jaffa on the north-west. At the end of the valley lies *Yalo*, and we can catch a glimpse of the Jerusalem-Jaffa road as it traverses the *Wady el Khalil*. Behind it, the hill of Gezer stands out prominently. The hill, isolated on the north, west, and south, is, to the east, somewhat separated from the mountain ridge to which it belongs, by a shallow valley. The site is the ideal one for safety in ancient days. The spring which now supplies the valley of *Katanneh*, may have supplied Chephirah, but against times of siege, there were reserve supplies in cisterns, the ruins of which can be seen to-day."

THE TREES AND SHRUBS OF THE HOLY LAND.[1]

By E. W. G. Masterman, M.A., F.S.A.

"What are the trees and shrubs truly characteristic of Palestine? From a cursory reading of the English Bible we should gather that the fir-tree (Isaiah lx, 13), the heath (Jer. xvii, 6), the mulberry (2 Sam. v, 24), the chestnut (Ezekiel xxxi, 1), etc., were all growing in Palestine in Old Testament times. We know it was not so; the translators, through want of knowledge of the forestry of Palestine, were often compelled to make guesses at the meaning of words. On the other hand, present day appearances might greatly deceive us regarding ancient trees and shrubs. The majority of the plants we see so familiarly around us are, on the other hand, comparatively recent introductions. The eucalyptus trees and the *locût* have been introduced from Australia, the American aloe and even the familiar prickly pear (cactus) come from America, the Persian lilac, and the Indian tobacco plant, both of which flourish almost like weeds, are comparatively new-comers. This might be said of a large proportion of the garden trees and shrubs now in Jerusalem. The mulberry, so plentiful in the Lebanon, probably was introduced along with the silk-worm. The apricot, which flourishes in such vast numbers around Damascus, was introduced from Eastern Asia, probably China, at the beginning of the Christian era. On the other hand, the olive and the vine, the quince and the apple, the almond, the pomegranate and the walnut, have been known in Palestine from the earliest times. Of timber trees, the cypress, the cedar, the pine, the oak, of which five species are recognised, the poplar, and the willow, are all natives of the land. The 'ash' of Isaiah xliv, 44, is almost certainly the pine; 'gopher wood,' of which the Ark was built, is by tradition the cypress, or it may as probably have been cedar.

[1] From *Home Words*, September, 1906.

"The 'chestnut' (Ez. xxxi, 8) was certainly the plane, of which a magnificent ancient specimen may be seen in Damascus with a little room inside its hollow trunk. The 'juniper tree' under which Elijah lay (1 Kings xix, 5) in the wilderness, was certainly the familiar *rutum*, a kind of broom well known in the Jordan valley; it is even to-day burnt by the natives to produce charcoal (Ps. cii, 4). The 'sycamore' (sycamine) of Luke xvii, 6, and 1 Kings x, 27, was not the mulberry nor the maple-sycamore of Europe but the sycamore-fig, a splendid tree rather like a large fig but developing poor fruit, which is found in many parts of the land to-day. A fine specimen grows just below the pool of Siloam, and marks the spot where, by tradition, Isaiah was sawn asunder.

"The 'husks which the swine did eat' (Luke xv, 16) are very generally believed to be the pods of the *kharrub* or locust tree, which may be seen hawked about in the *Suk* this month.

"The 'shittah tree' of Isaiah xli, 19, and the 'shittim wood' of Ex. xxv, 10, was undoubtedly some kind of acacia growing in the wilderness. The word translated 'bay tree' in the Authorized Version of Psalm xxxvii, 35, probably does not mean any particular tree but, as is adopted in the Revised Version, 'a green tree in its native soil.'

"What was the 'hyssop' of Ex. xii, 22, 1 Kings iv, 33, John xix, 29, has been a subject of endless debate. The familiar caper plant which we see around us everywhere growing out of the walls (1 Kings iv, 33) is very popularly supported, but tradition is more in favour of a species of marjoram, a herb of which six species are found in Palestine. The caper-berry is, however, without doubt referred to in Ecclesiastes xii, 5, where the expression translated in the Authorized Version 'desire shall fail,' is, in the Revised Version, translated 'the caper-berry shall fail,' *i.e.*, fail in its stimulating properties."

THE JEWS OF SYENE IN THE FIFTH CENTURY B.C.

By S. A. Cook, M.A.

In the spring of 1904, Robert Mond, Esq., M.A., F.R.S.E., Hon. Secretary of the Davy Faraday Research Laboratory (Royal Institution), acquired certain Aramaic papyri which had been found near Assuan. These have just been edited by Professor Sayce and Mr. A. E. Cowley, together with other papyri acquired by Lady William Cecil and by the Bodleian Library, and form one of the most important discoveries that Aramaic epigraphy has as yet produced.[1] Through the munificence of Mr. Mond, they have been published in the completest possible manner with bibliographical information by Mr. Seymour de Ricci, and Egyptological notes by Professor Spiegelberg. Professor Sayce himself contributes a valuable introduction, whilst Mr. Cowley has undertaken the wearisome task of deciphering the papyri, and has given full philological and exegetical notes and glossaries. The papyri have been photographed and reproduced with entire success—in every respect the "critical apparatus" is all that could possibly be desired.

It is not our intention to review this notable book, but rather to call attention to the importance of the papyri for biblical research. It fortunately happens that they are dated and are found to belong to the 5th century B.C., from B.C. 471 (a few years after the battle of Salamis) down to B.C. 411. Thus they provide sure criteria for Aramaic palæography, and it is interesting to contrast the professional hand of the scribes with the often unskilful signatures of the witnesses. For Aramaic philology, the value of the papyri is of the first rank, and although technical details of a philological character would be out of place in these pages, it may be mentioned that one papyrus, of the year 465 B.C., uses two forms of the word for "land" (*arḳâ* and *ar'â*), a feature which recurs in the Aramaic verse inserted in Jeremiah x, 11, where it has been thought to be due to later alteration; it now appears that the two forms could be used freely side by side. Whilst for the study of the Aramaic portions of the Old Testament these finds will be indispensable, it is for their actual contents that they will be most welcome to the general reader.

These papyri afford the proof that some time after the disastrous

[1] *Aramaic Papyri discovered at Assuan* (Moring, Ltd.; London, 1906).

murder of Gedaliah, the governor whom Nebuchadrezzar had set over Palestine, a colony of Jews had made their way to Assuan or Syene, the southern end of Egypt, and had settled down into trading communities. The evidence seems to show that they refrained from intermarrying with Egyptians, although exceptions are certainly found, as when a widow-lady named Mibṭaḥ-yah (confidence of Yah[weh]) marries an Egyptian whose name showed him to be a devotee of the god Horus. Again, it is extremely interesting to find references to the shrine of the god Yahu, by whose name oaths are administered. It is obvious, therefore, that the Jews enjoyed religious freedom. Further, the term "Jew" (*yehûdî*) actually occurs, and it is curious that in some cases the same individuals in other papyri are termed Aramaeans. Professor Sayce, in the course of his excellent preliminary remarks, explains the interchange as due to the fact that they spoke Aramaic, then the official language of the government in Egypt as also throughout the western half of the Persian empire. "The Jewish scribes," he observes, "accepted and employed the term just as readily as the scribes of any other nationality, evidently regarding their fellow-countrymen as merely a division of the Aramaean family." The Jewish colonists were not true citizens like the native Egyptians, and the descriptive terms applied to them—unfortunately the phrasing is of obscure interpretation—has suggested that they were in a position similar to that of the Roman "clients."

Moreover, one papyrus mentions the "tribunal (דינא) of the Hebrews (עברן)"; it was probably not confined to the Jews alone, but, as Mr. Cowley states, was used by all who were "*beyond* the river," that is to say, in the district beyond (*i.e.*, west of) the Euphrates.

The papyri deal with legal affairs and hence contain numerous proper names. We meet with a considerable number which are obviously Jewish: Ethan, Gedaliah, Gemariah, Haggai, Hodaviah, Isaiah, Jezaniah, Malchiah, Menahem, Meshullam, Nathan, etc., are familiar to everyone. There are other names which cannot be exactly paralleled but are unmistakably of a Hebrew type. As was found to be the case with the contract-tablets found by the expedition of the University of Pennsylvania to Nippur, there is a considerable mixture of population. Some of the names are undoubtedly of Persian origin, others are certainly Babylonian; even Arabian names may be suspected. Thus, the evidence furnished

by the business documents of Nippur finds further support from an entirely different portion of the Persian empire.

One of the witnesses styles himself "Hadad-nûrî, the Babylonian," and one of the most noteworthy phenomena in these papyri is the retention of Babylonian usage. As Prof. Sayce observes: "the conveyance of property is couched in the technical terms of Babylonian law, from which the law of Western Asia derived its origin, and the deeds which relate to it are drawn up in the form made familiar to us by the legal documents of Babylonia. The penalties for the infringement of a legal obligation went back to the early days of Babylonian history, like the testamentary power possessed by the owner of property. He could will it to whom he would and determine the succession to it after his death. In this respect the woman was on an equal footing with the man: she, too, could hold property and leave it by will as she wished. The deeds . . . . are thus in exact accordance with the law of Babylonia, that is to say, of the Persian empire."

It will give some idea of the value of the papyri if we describe briefly one or two of the more interesting. One (designated B by the editors) is drawn up about the 18th of Chisleu (December) or Thoth, in the last year of Xerxes, the year of the accession of Artaxerxes. A workman named Dargman renounces certain land to Maḥseiah, son of Yedoniah, the Jew of Elephantine. The property is described as lying between the house of Ḳoniah, the son of Zadok, and that of Jezaniah, son of Uriah, both Jews. He binds himself not to lodge any complaint in the future and the penalty is fixed at "20, that is, twenty, *kebes*." This coin appears to be the tenth of a shekel; the word should properly mean a "lamb," and may be compared with the Hebrew *ḳesiṭah* which, according to old tradition, has precisely the same meaning. The writer of the document is Ethan, the son of Abah, of Syene, who states that he wrote it "at the dictation" (lit., according to the mouth of) Dargman.

Another (designated G), which in all probability falls between the years 446 and 440, is a marriage contract. It gives a list of the presents which As-Ḥor, the king's builder, gave as the *môhar* or price for Mibṭah-yah, the daughter of Maḥseiah. Garments and shawls of various kinds, a bronze mirror, and, it would appear, "a new ivory cosmetic-box" form part of the lady's outfit. The wife has the same power of divorce as the husband, but it must be done

publicly in the "congregation" (עדה), and the penalty was the renunciation of the gift which the other party had brought at the marriage. We learn that the woman could both hold and bequeath property, and if she was forced to leave her husband, no actual divorce taking place, half the property could be claimed by him.

It is interesting to observe that the papyri, with one exception, deal with property in Yeb (Elephantine) in which a little colony of Jews is concerned. The leading spirit is Maḥseiah (cp. Jer. xxxii, 12), the son of Yedoniah (cp. Yadon, Neh. iii, 7), who comes to an agreement with Ḳoniyah, the son of Zadok, respecting a gateway and a wall which extends from the southern end of Ḳoniyah's house to the house of Zechariah, the son of Nathan. These are the neighbours of Maḥseiah to the north, whilst to the west lies the street (with the gateway) which separates the houses of the two parties from that of an Egyptian sailor.

Some time after this, Maḥseiah was summoned by his neighbour on the south, Dargman (apparently a Persian), who had laid claim to the ground which intervened. But Maḥseiah had sworn "by Yahu the god" and had justified his right, and a contract of the year 465 B.C. is Dargman's deed of renunciation. Six years elapse and we find that Maḥseiah has given his daughter Miḇṭaḥ-yah in marriage to Jezaniah, the son of Uriah, his eastern neighbour. He endows her with "the land of one house," thirteen cubits by eleven with the measuring-rod. It is no other than the property which Dargman had claimed, and whilst one papyrus contains the deed which Maḥseiah gave his son-in-law, the other is for the daughter, and in it he hands her Dargman's deed of renunciation with the advice "Do thou keep possession of it. If to-morrow or any later day Dargman or his son shall bring an action concerning this house, produce this deed, and institute an action against him therewith."

Thirteen years later, in 446 B.C., Maḥseiah makes over to his daughter the house-property which he had bought from Meshullam, son of Zaccur, together with the deed of sale. It lay to the east of their houses and was bounded on the south by the house of Ye'ô(r), son of Penuliah, on the east by that of Gadol, son of Hoshea, and the street, to the north lay the shrine of the god Yahu, whilst to the west lived the son of Palṭu, the priest of (as it would appear) certain Egyptian gods. In a contract of the year 440 we find Miḇṭaḥ-yah coming to an agreement with Pi', son of Paḥî, the builder, apparently over materials which she had supplied for

building. It is noteworthy that the Jewess swears in court by the Egyptian goddess Sati.

Next, we come to a small group of papyri belonging to a somewhat later date. Here we find Mibṭaḥ-yah married to As-Ḥor, the royal builder, and the marriage-contract to which reference has already been made seems to suggest that her father Maḥseiah was still alive. In 421 B.C., the pair have two grown-up sons, Yedoniah and Maḥseiah—it will be noticed that their mother has given them the names of her grandfather and father. An action is brought against them by Menahem and 'Ananiah (cp. Neh. iii, 23) sons of Meshullam, the son of Shelomim, the son of Azariah, regarding certain goods which As-Ḥor had received on trust from Shelomim. It is interesting to observe the length of this genealogy; moreover, neither here nor elsewhere is a man's tribal origin designated.

Four years later, the same Yedoniah and Maḥseiah succeed in maintaining their claim to the house of Jezaniah, the son of Uriah, against Yedoniah, the son of Hoshaiah (or Hoshea), the son of Uriah. The property in question is bounded on the west by their mother's house which she had received in 459, to the east is the shrine of the god Yahu with the king's road running between, to the south lies the house of Hoshea, the son of Uriah, whilst to the north is that of the son of Zechariah. We evidently come upon a little family quarrel here such as could easily happen under the circumstances, where so many families lived in close contiguity. Mibṭaḥ-yah had received the house of her first husband Jezaniah and had bequeathed it to her sons by her second marriage, and her nephew Jedoniah brings an action against these cousins of his in the vain hope of recovering some of his grandfather's property. It is very remarkable that the lady's husband is here regularly called Nathan, and, since his father was Egyptian, this may suggest that he was converted and took a Jewish name.[1]

Finally in 411, Maḥseiah and Yedoniah, the sons of Nathan, agree to divide between them their mother's slaves; the latter takes Petosiros, the former Belo, whilst Tebo, the mother of the lads, and Lîlû, a third son, remain their joint property for the time being. Here it is extremely interesting to read that the two slaves

[1] It is perhaps possible that the element *As* (Egypt. *n-s* "belonging to") was popularly connected with the Arabic *aus* "gift" which enters frequently into proper names (Sinaitic inscr., etc.). If so, the choice of Nathan ("—gave") is intelligible.

appear to be tattooed with the mark or letter *yôd* in Aramaic upon the right hand—a practice which was very familiar throughout the east, although these details are novel.[1]

There are numerous points upon which one is tempted to enlarge, but perhaps enough has been said to demonstrate the very great importance of the papyri not merely for the philologist, but for the biblical student. It is a very real gain to be able to obtain some idea of the conditions under which the Jews lived in the fifth century, and these most welcome finds throw much light upon the life and custom of fifth century Judaism. For we may not unreasonably expect that the evidence which is gradually being collected, whether in Egypt or in Babylonia, will enable us to understand the internal conditions in Palestine itself, and the mere fact that these *business* documents have come to light inspires the hope that other papyri, perhaps of more vital importance, may yet be discovered in the near future. And, obviously, if Egypt can furnish such evidence as this, where the Jews formed only a portion of the population, what may we not expect when more excavation has been undertaken in Palestine itself, when this country, which has allowed itself to lag behind, wakes up and shows a more practical interest in the efforts to recover the secrets hidden in the soil of the Holy Land?

GOLGOTHA ON MOUNT ZION.

By the Rev. W. F. Birch, M.A.

Love for truth compels me to show that "The place of a skull" was on the ridge of Mount Zion (the eastern ridge), east of the Damascus Gate. Biblical evidence is decisive on this point. The traditional site seems to have been evolved from a radical error of mischievous Josephus, who shuns the term *Zion*, and, using the term City of David only *once*, frequently for it substitutes Jerusalem.

That deep interest is still taken in the position of Golgotha is clear from the 250 pages that here have treated of the subject, and from Sir Charles Wilson's recent work on Golgotha, a very armoury for controversialists.

[1] For the use of words or letters as "wasms," reference may be made to the *Q.S.*, 1902, p. 308.

It is admitted that the New Testament does not decide the site. Let the Old Testament therefore speak. One prophecy quoted by priests and scribes satisfied Herod where the Christ should be born: several prophecies have to do with details of the Crucifixion. Would it not be strange if the Old Testament contained no information, ever so obscure, as to the place of either the Crucifixion or Burial or Resurrection of Christ? Surely Christians will not out-Herod Herod by interdicting prophecy on a point of Biblical topography. Yet, since I reflect that some do not see its force, let me proceed cautiously by slow steps, although Butler says "Prophecy is nothing but the history of events before they come to pass."

(1.) I take for a foundation (all here agree) that the four Evangelists place Golgotha near Jerusalem, outside the walls (*i.e.*, the first and second) and probably close to a main road.

(2.) Sir C. Wilson (*Golgotha*, p. 120) writes: "If there be anything in the idea of type and antitype—and there possibly may be—then Christ must have suffered north of the altar, possibly on the eastern slope of that portion of Mount Moriah known as Bezetha." This is virtually the position named above and in *Quarterly Statement*, 1891, p. 255, except as to "eastern."

(3.) *Isaac laid on the altar.* Here is an apparent instance of type and antitype. Alford says (on Heb. xi, 19), "Undeniable as is the typical reference of the whole occurrence to Christ." Josephus twice identifies Mount Moriah (the site of the Temple) with the place of Isaac's altar, while some Christians have located it on one of the mountains of Jerusalem. Stanley's position for it on Gerizim is strangely wrong (*Quarterly Statement*, 1880, p. 103). That the scene of this stupendous transaction in Abraham's life was near Jerusalem seems to me to be beyond question. Some details appear to be typical—as Isaac's carrying the wood, the ram's horns entangled in the thicket, and the two servants (like "two witnesses") beholding afar off by the main north road, or way, which passed over against Jebus.

But it may be urged that the type is incomplete *topographically*, as Golgotha was not on the site of the Temple. To this difficulty I once could only have replied that the Jews, for the greater glory of their Temple, attached to it the story of Isaac's sacrifice; consequently, great was the satisfaction with which I read (*Golgotha*, p. 199): "it was at first the intention to build the Temple on the mount which overlooks Mount Moriah." It is evident that the

sacred story belonging to the intended site, the true site of Isaac's altar, the mount higher than Moriah, was (as was likely) transferred to the actual Temple. Truly, type and antitype are not to be left out of account. I cheerfully admit them, but do not present them to others here as part of the prophetical evidence.

(4.) It was in the Temple that the words were quoted, "The stone which the builders rejected, the same was made the head of the corner." On the north was the eminence of Bezetha containing the subterranean quarries in which ("in the mountain," 2 Chron. ii. 18) were hewn the royal stones for Solomon's Temple; some faulty ones might still be lying rejected underground, or even on the surface of the hill. If so, here again was type. Easily, then, might the fancy pass into the suspicion that Bezetha might be the site of Golgotha. Thus the typical was preparing me for the prophetical.

(5.) The first prophecy I take from Isaiah xxv, 6–8: "In this mountain shall the Lord of hosts make unto all people a feast . . . . . And he will destroy in this mountain . . . . the veil that is spread over all nations. He hath swallowed up death for ever." See also *v.* 10: "For in this mountain shall the hand of the Lord rest," etc. One day, on reading this, I saw with some degree of surprise at my former inattention, that the feast, destruction of the mourning veil, and swallowing up of death are twice connected with *this mountain*, obviously the Mount Zion of xxiv, 23, and subsequently that while the *swallowing up* in 1 Cor. xv, 54, is future, 2 Tim. i, 10, speaks of Christ who abolished death (past tense). Even if this be (as some may say) only equivalent to "began to abolish," etc., still the important point remains that the act was to begin *in this mountain, i.e.*, Zion. Now the veil of ignorance as to the site of Golgotha was being taken away. I asked myself: has Isaiah thus foretold the position of the Crucifixion and Resurrection, and have I been blind to it? Have I now made a great discovery or a gross mistake? Neither. Already, since 1832, it was in type that, "It should seem that all the great things which God promised to the world were to be transacted upon that spot" (*i.e.*, Mount Zion).

(6.) Was this the only text, or were there others teaching this truth about Zion? One had not far to search. Isaiah xxviii, 16, says: "Behold, I lay in Zion for a foundation, a stone, a tried stone, a precious (ἐκλεκτόν, LXX) corner stone," etc. I had learned from the Old Testament that Zion was always the *eastern* hill, and (4) above showed that Christ was the stone. Whether the prophet

referred to the great event of Good Friday or Easter Day made topographically no difference, since the Tomb was in (or near) Golgotha. It is remarkable, however, that St. Paul (Rom. ix, 33) and 1 Peter ii, 6, make the same variation from LXX, substituting *τίθημι ἐν Σιὼν* for *ἐμβάλλω εἰς τὰ θεμέλια Σιὼν*, while in the Gospel accounts of Christ's burial, the verb *τίθημι* occurs several times.

(7.) Psalm ii gave a still more striking prophecy: "Why do the nations rage, and the peoples imagine a vain thing? The kings of the earth set themselves, and the rulers," etc. (*vv.* 1, 2). "Yet have I set my king upon my holy hill of Zion" (*v.* 6). "The Lord said unto me, Thou art my son; This day have I begotten thee" (*v.* 7). As in Acts iv, 25–27, St. Peter quotes *vv.* 1, 2, and adds, "For of a truth in this city against thy holy servant Jesus . . . . both Herod and Pontius Pilate with the Gentiles . . . were gathered together," and as St. Paul, Acts xiii, 33, quotes *v.* 7: "He raised up Jesus, as also it is written in the second psalm, 'Thou art my Son; this day have I begotten thee,'" it is obvious that the earlier verses describe the great events of Good Friday, and the last verse that of Easter Day, *i.e.*, the Resurrection. I fail to see on what ground I can refuse to admit that the intermediate verse (*v.* 6) with its topographical statement, "Yet I have set my king *upon my holy hill of Zion*," must be intermediate or within these limits as to both time and place. The question of figurative language does not here come in (so far as I can see). The first and last verses describe actual admitted facts, so must the words "set my king upon Mount Zion." On the one day, the title was conspicuous on Golgotha: "This is Jesus, the king of the Jews." On the other, He was seen near the tomb by Mary Magdalen. As to the body of Christ according to the Psalmist it (or He) was on Mount Zion during the period when, according to the Evangelists, it (or He) was on or near Golgotha. It follows, therefore, that Golgotha had to do with Mount Zion, the eastern hill, and was not situated across a valley to the south-west. In other words, as stated in the heading, "Golgotha was on Mount Zion," and the traditional site (the Church of the Holy Sepulchre) is consequently wrong. The mistake, I believe, is due to Josephus. As it is not apparent to me where my calculation errs, I hope no one who may detect a fallacy will hesitate to point it out. Meanwhile, if Micah v satisfied Herod the King, Psalm ii ought (in my opinion) to satisfy, topographically, a thoughtful Christian.

(*To be continued.*)

NOTICES OF NEW BOOKS AND FOREIGN PUBLICATIONS.

Recueil d'Archéologie Orientale, Vol. VII. A larger number than usual, replete with Prof. Clermont-Ganneau's brilliant suggestions and ingenuity. The new Byzantine edict of Beersheba is discussed in § 35; it contains a list of eighteen places with the contribution expected from each. Among them are found *Adroôn* (all are in the genitive) possibly *Udruḥ*, to the east of Petra; *Arioêlôn*, which the *Notitia* wrongly gives as *Arieldela*—the name probably represents Gharandel. In *Robatha* Prof. Ganneau conjectures *Roubâ'i* near Petra; *Phainous* is the famous Phinon or Phenân. *Môas* (nominative Môa) confirms the reading of the Madeba mosaic. *Tolouaôn*, probably the *Toloha* of the Notitia, is possibly *et-Tlâh* to the south of the Dead Sea. *Eiseibôn* suggests Heshbon, but the edict does not extend to that district, and the name is identified with Hosob. *Thomarôn* is the well-known Thamara. Finally *Ainanathas* is obviously a compound of *Ain* "well," the second part is obscure. In § 36 Prof. Ganneau discusses Saladin's march from Cairo to Damascus. The journey was taken through Bowaîb, el-Jisr, and the Wâdy Musa (scarcely Petra but a traditional locality east of the Gulf of Suez). After five days in the desert Aila was reached, and Saladin directed his steps northwards. The importance of determining the routes taken by armies in Palestine is obvious, and Prof. Ganneau proposes in a future number to deal with the itinerary of the Sultan Beibars.

§ 37 deals with two archaic vases found by M. de Morgan et Susa. They were in a stratum apparently later than the time of Asshurbanipal and before the Persian period. Each bears an inscription, and the interesting feature is that the script is Phœnician, but with those characteristic forms which Ganneau holds to be specifically Israelite. The longer of the two runs "one hin and half a log and a quarter of a log" (הן 1 וחצי הלג ורבעת הלג). This system of measurement finds an exact parallel in the Talmud (Menakhoth ix. 2) "one log and half a log and a quarter of a log," *i.e.*, $1\frac{3}{4}$ log. Unfortunately the fragments prevent a decisive discussion of the ancient Israelite measures, but the discovery is none the less one of extreme interest, since the appearance of *Israelite* vases at Susa demands an explanation.

Among the numerous minor notes may be mentioned that on the route from Gaza to Cairo (p. 373 *sq*). A Greek inscription from the

Hauran (recently published by M. Dussaud) is discussed in § 43. It refers to a monument erected by two individuals who actually specify the cost of the oil and wine allotted to the workmen during its construction. Analogies can be found; the most interesting being the curious passage in Herodotus ii, 125 relating to the inscription which (he was assured) was carved upon the pyramid of Cheops. Apropos of this, Prof. Ganneau draws attention to the three items which the old historian notes: the *συρμαία*, *κρόμμυα* and *σκόροδα*. He points out that the first cannot be merely a medicinal preparation but must be apparently some food, presumably vegetable, and the three correspond to the last three words in Num. xi, 5, where the Israelites lust after the food they had had in Egypt. Although our English version renders "leeks and onions and garlics," the first (*ḥâṣîr*) of the terms is properly green stuff (*e.g.*, grass). With this the seventh volume of the ever-interesting *Recueil* comes to an end.

Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins, XXIX, 3, 4. Dr. Thomsen's investigations on the older literature of Palestine deals first with Ptolemy and his sources. His argument is that this writer used lists richer than the Peutinger tables but not dissimilar. Ptolemy is well-informed regarding the coast and Arabia Petræa; he is less correct in the case of Judæa, Samaria, Idumæa and the Decapolis. On the *Notitia Dignitatum* Dr. Thomsen observes the difficulty of interpretation, but gives a number of identifications which will stimulate renewed and deeper inquiry into the details. The holy Isicius mentioned by Antoninus Placentius forms the third study, and the name is ingeniously derived from Izates, the son of Helena, through the form Sizæ, which is given in the Latin translation of Josephus. In the concluding section, on the Onomasticon of Eusebius, Dr. Thomsen refers to Kubitschek's criticism of his earlier investigation (Vol. XXVI). Both agree that Eusebius was in the habit of writing in the margin of a copy of the Bible glosses of topographical, historical and antiquarian interest upon which the Onomasticon was based. In this manner it is possible to explain the differences in the distances when the same places are mentioned more than once.

Dr. Hölscher discusses the topography of the campaign of Judas Maccabæus in 1 Macc. v. Dr. Fenner, on the site of Bethany and its present condition, and Dr. Carl Mommert on the Jerusalem of the Bordeaux Pilgrim, are valuable contributions to topographical research. Among the studies by Prof. Dalman are the Phœnician grave and throne of the Messiah from Mêrôn, and animal sculptures from the Wâdy el-Ḥamâm and er-Rummân. The whole number is one of solid learning.

Mitteilungen u. Nachrichten des D.P.V., 1906, Nos. 3 and 4. A short description is given of an interesting seal of lapis lazuli which was found by Dr. Schumacher at Tell el-Mutesellim. It is a so-called "Phœnician scaraboid," with symbolical Egyptian design, scarcely older than the 7th

or 8th century, and with the inscription, "To Asaph" (לאסף) in the old Hebrew characters. Prof. Kautsch agrees to the dating and points out that the name Asaph recurs in the time of Hezekiah. (As a matter of fact, the inscription has the appearance of being somewhat later, at all events the occurrence of Asaph is no guide.) Dr. Schumacher gives a full account of work at Mutesellim in the middle of 1905. It appears that the twelve *Massebahs*, previously found, belong to the same age as the royal palace, *viz.*, about the 9th century, in the north-east room of which the above-mentioned seal was found. A terra-cotta figure of a woman, with her hair dressed in Egyptian style and beating a tambourine, was found in a stratum of about the 8th–7th century. Here also was discovered a phallus of white lime-stone about 18 cm. long. Among the most interesting finds were fragments of bronze stands for sacrificial offerings, one with three feet resembled the classical caryatides. The stratum is ascribed to the 13th–10th century, and contained other important bronze objects including a plough-share and a two-edged axe. A burial chamber was found to contain a number of infants' skeletons in jars, the adults were buried either at full length or with knees drawn upwards.[1] It is impossible to refer further to the many other valuable results of Dr. Schumacher's excavation, of which an extremely interesting account is given in Part III, and the complete publication of the whole will be eagerly awaited.

Revue Biblique, October, 1906. An instructive article by Prof. Guidi on history-writing among the Semites illustrates from Abyssinian and Arabic sources the familiar methods of compilation and redaction which, as criticism has proved, recur repeatedly in the Old Testament. R. P. Jaussen describes, under the title *Umm el-gheith*, some of the customs of the nomads of Moab. After some instructive preliminary remarks on the regular rains he describes the manner in which the women resort to the "lord of rain" in times of drought. Two sticks cross-wise, roughly representing the human frame, are dressed up with garments and jewellery. This, the *Umm el-gheith* ("mother of the rain") is carried around from tent to tent, whilst verses are sung describing her endeavours for the fertilization of the soil. Jaussen observes that although this figure, by reason of its new garments, etc., is sometimes called "bride" (*'arûs*), he has not been able to substantiate the evidence given by Curtiss that it was known as "the bride of Allah." Among the Arabs of the Negeb, the *Umm el-gheith* is covered with a large white veil, and is sometimes called "half a bride" (نصف عروس).

The fathers Molloy and Colunga describe with plans and photographs the high-places of Petra. Fr. Abel gives a concise description of the

[1] It may be worth noticing that among the Bahima of Uganda these two forms of burial are in use; the former is that employed when men die childless.

painted monument at el-Bared. P. Savignac publishes an account of the sanctuary of el-Ḳanṭarah, near Petra, with a few Nabatæan inscriptions. In continuation of the itinerary from Nakhel to Petra, Jaussen discusses the situation of the Well of Hagar and the village of Berdan. The latter is located in Khirbet el-Ḳâdy. The same scholar gives a very useful list of place-names in the Negeb, collected in the early part of last year, with brief topographical remarks.

Ancient Tyre and Modern England. By Philo-Anglicanus. (Elliot Stock, 1906.) The title of this book sufficiently indicates an intention of drawing a parallel between the two nations, and deducing either a denunciation or a warning. The author, who is evidently moved by patriotic motives, prefers the latter. In the ordinary course, we should not feel justified in inserting here notice of a book dealing primarily with matters of theology, religion and morals.

But this one is written in temperate language, and although some charges are brought against individual churches it does not appear to be directed against any particular church. On the other hand, great pains have evidently been taken in bringing together, not only the scriptural evidences bearing on Tyre, but the modern evidences—including the work of this Society—illustrating the former condition of Tyre and the adjoining countries, as well as in collecting statistics affecting the argument as relating to our own. Taken altogether it is a book which cannot but lead to reflection, and will doubtless interest a considerable number of readers.

THE

PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

NOTES AND NEWS.

The New Permit.—The Committee have the pleasure to announce that, early in March, they received intelligence from Mr. Macalister that the new "permit" had arrived, and was in his hands on February 25th. He expected to begin work about the second week in March. The formalities now observed in granting such permits are more protracted than formerly; but a strict observance in the past of the conditions laid down by the Turkish Government, has satisfied the authorities that this Society may be trusted to abide by them in the future conduct of their excavations.

Notice to Subscribers.—On Saturday morning, February 16th, the letter-box at the Fund's London office was forced open, and the contents stolen, in the interval between the early morning delivery and the opening of the office. Subscribers who may have posted letters the previous evening (15th) which remain unacknowledged, will greatly oblige by informing the Secretary, and by sending particulars of any enclosure.

A serious loss befell the Fund early in February. The whole stock of many of their publications was stored with Messrs. Bain and Co., their binders, whose premises were totally destroyed by fire. The books, thus destroyed, were insured in the "Sun" office to the extent of £1,000, and the amount has been paid as we go to press, but their value, even at subscriber's reduced prices, would be largely in excess of that amount. The works (except the few copies in the Fund's office) were the following:—*Tent Work; Heth and Moab; Bible and Modern Discoveries; The City and the Land; Tell Amarna Tablets; Judas Maccabæus; Saladin; Fauna and Flora*

(Hart); *Survey of Eastern Palestine; Excavations at Jerusalem; Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem; Fauna and Flora* (Tristram).

The British Academy has recently received the sum of £10,000 for the purpose of establishing a memorial to the late Mr. Leopold Schweich of Paris. "The Leopold Schweich Fund," as it is to be called, is to be devoted "to the furtherance of research in the Archæology, Art, History, Languages and Literature of Ancient Civilisation with reference to Biblical study." In addition to lectures, the income is to be applied for the purposes of excavation and for the publication of the results of original research, in connection with one or more of the subjects named. This handsome bequest is distinctly encouraging for the future of Biblical study, the comprehensive character of which provides numerous ways for the advantageous expenditure of the money devoted to it.

The various kinds of work by which the *Palestine Exploration Fund* has for so many years honourably distinguished itself, has throughout been for the furtherance of Biblical study, and whilst it is a source of gratification to the Committee to be able to continue the methodical excavations for which the Fund is noted, it is necessary to point out that these entail heavy expenses. With the resumption of the excavation at Gezer, additional subscriptions are asked for.

We publish in this number an interesting note by Mr. C. K. Spyridonidis, the architect attached to the Holy Sepulchre buildings belonging to the Greek convent. It refers to excavations recently undertaken south of the spot which, according to a tradition (which can be traced back to 1325 A.D.), was the scene of St. Stephen's martyrdom. The Rev. J. Hanauer suggests that the inscribed slabs, which are here published, may have belonged to the church of St. Stephen which, Sir John Maundeville states, was situated on the east of Jerusalem by the Valley of Jehoshaphat. Previously, from 460 to 1336 A.D., the name appears to have been given to the Damascus Gate, and was derived from that of the great Church built by Eudoxia, in which the relics of St. Stephen (discovered in 415 A.D.) had been deposited. The ruins of this, as well as those of the mediaeval chapel to its west, were re-discovered about twenty-four years ago, and, as readers of the *Quarterly Statement* may

remember, have been dealt with in articles by the late Dr. Schick, Dr. Merrill, and others. Mr. Hanauer concludes by observing that "the discovery noted by Mr. Spyridonidis is interesting because the conflicting traditions concerning the rival sites form a special point in the discussion around the site of the Holy Sepulchre between Dr. Robinson (*Bibl. Researches*, vol. III, pp. 261 *sq.*) and the Rev. George Williams (*Holy City*, vol. II, p. 432 *sq.*)."

In *Home Words for Jerusalem* (February), Dr. Masterman writes from Ṣafed:—"We have just experienced a time of intense local excitement. It seems that it is stated in the Zohar that under the earth there is a great sleeping beast—the Leviathan—and that every 70 years he has to change his position. When he does this an earthquake is produced. On January 1st, 1837, occurred the well-known earthquake which destroyed a great part of Ṣafed, and so now the 70 years are completed and a recurrence is due . . . . . It came to be believed that the earthquake would occur on or about January 9th, and a panic took possession of the people . . . . . The fear spread to the Moslems and Christians. Our own two Christian servant-girls could hardly be induced to stay under our roof on the night of the 9th. The scenes in the street were most amusing—like one vast picnic. Whole families were gathered in scattered groups all over the ground, eating, sleeping, and living in the open. Some put up tents or rough shanties and others spent all night perambulating the roads around Ṣafed. Many Jews fled from the doomed city, some camped in improvised wooden buildings at Meron. We were at Meron on the 8th, and on our return met numbers of Jews and their families flying there for safety. Others fled to Tiberias carrying the ominous news with them, so that many of the *fellahin* of neighbouring villages were also much disturbed. . . . . Various wild reports spread abroad. One gentleman, it was said, dared not sleep in his house but passed the night on the balcony (as, as a matter of fact, is his common custom when possible)! Others stated that on account of a star having fallen into the Lake of Galilee its waters had turned red and, being undrinkable, the people of Tiberias were suffering from thirst! It need hardly be said there was not a word of truth in this assertion. By the night of the 14th the people had settled down to their usual life, except those, not a few, who had injured themselves by their exposure to the night air when sleeping in the streets."

Dr. Masterman also reports:—"After the long drought we have had ten days of almost continuous storm and rain, common, one would suppose, to the whole land—followed by a spell of intense cold, with ice in places over an inch thick. From near here, we can see Hermon, a long stretch of the Lebanon, the Jebal Druze, and part of the Jaulan near Hermon covered with snow. Just as I finish these notes, I hear that two men have been found frozen to death on the road between Safed and a village further north called *Bint Jebail*."

Under the Jerusalem "Hospital Notes," Dr. Wheeler writes:—"In the out-patient department in 1906 there were over 18,000 seen, and 20,000 dressings. Here are assembled, from nearly all parts of the world, Jews of different nationalities, languages, and dress, and yet the majority can make themselves understood to one another in Hebrew, which is certainly becoming a living language in Palestine. We are told that in some of the Jewish colonies only Hebrew is allowed to be spoken."

The fifth annual report of the American School of Oriental Research in Palestine announces that Prof. D. G. Lyon of Harvard has been appointed Director for the present year. Prof. Bacon's account of the previous year's undertakings, in the *American Journal of Archaeology*, gives an excellent description of the valuable work which the institution is doing in Palestinian research.

Dr. Masterman writes that the fall in level of the Dead Sea during the summer months of 1906 is 15 inches, the smallest fall that has been noticed since the observations were first taken.

Apropos of the collection illustrative of the work of the Palestine Exploration Fund, exhibited recently in the British Government Section of the International Exhibition at Christchurch, New Zealand (*Quarterly Statement*, 1906, p. 243), the following remarks in *The Press*, of November 22nd, will be found interesting:—

"It is surely a sign that the researches in the Holy Land are being conducted by an energetic Society, full of enthusiasm and resolve, that in the British Court at the International Exhibition a very complete and magnificent display is made by it. The Palestine Exploration Fund is one of the many societies of which

little is heard by the general public, but which, working quietly and unostentatiously, are adding rich contributions to the sum of human knowledge.

"Those who are interested in the problems dealt with by the Fund will find splendid material in the British Court. There are a large number of maps of Palestine and plans of excavations, there is a relief map of Palestine, there are six casts of Hittite inscriptions, a contour model of Jerusalem, a model of Sinai, a cast of the Siloam inscription, several photographs of excavation work, and a whole library of literature published by the Fund, including a set of bound *Quarterly Statements* from 1869–1903, and any number of books on particular portions of the work and its relation to Biblical history."

"Golgotha and the Holy Sepulchre," the last work of the late Major-General Sir Charles Wilson, K.C.B., K.C.M.G., F.R.S., D.C.L., LL.D., etc., is now ready. In this work the late Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund has brought together for the first time all the evidence which the most exhaustive research enabled him to collect bearing on the subject of these Holy Sites; and probably no man living had at once so intimate a knowledge of all investigations in the modern Jerusalem, and so complete an acquaintance with what has been written about the Sites from the time of Constantine onwards. The price of the work (demy 8vo) is 6*s*., by post 6*s*. 4*d*., and cheques should be made payable to the order of George Armstrong, Acting Secretary to the Fund, and crossed "Coutts & Co."

The first edition of Mr. Macalister's work, "Bible Sidelights from the Mounds of Gezer," is already sold out, and a second edition is now on sale. It has been written to show how the results of digging in Palestine should appeal not only to the scientific anthropologist or archæologist but also to the Bible student who has no special interest in these sciences. The book contains a brief synopsis of the work of the Fund from its foundation to the present and a description of the site of Gezer, and its history.

We are asked to state that the Trustees of the late Mrs. Honyman Gillespie, of Torbanehill, offer two prizes of £100 and £50 for the best essays estimating the value of the late Mr. Gillespie's "Argu-

ment *à priori* for the Being and the Attributes." Essays are to be sent to Messrs. T. & T. Clark, of Edinburgh, from whom fuller information regarding conditions, etc., can doubtless be obtained, or from the Agents for the Trustees, Messrs. Tods, Murray & Jamieson, of Edinburgh.

In 1870 Messrs. Thos. Cook and Son were appointed by the Khedive to act as the Agents of his Government for passenger traffic on the Nile, and they have issued the 36th Annual Pamphlet of their arrangements. The experience of that lengthy period is made manifest in the new pamphlet by the luxury of the arrangements and the added facilities afforded for travellers in Egypt and the Sudan. No fewer than eleven of Messrs. Cook's steamers are announced to work the various services between Cairo, Assuan, and the Second Cataract during the coming season, while, by an agreement with the Egyptian and Sudan Railways, combined steamer and rail tickets are issued, which will enable Upper Egypt to be visited by those limited in time far more expeditiously than by the leisurely steamer alone. Beside through bookings to Khartoum and Uganda, Messrs. Cook announce several excursions from Khartoum by steamer on the Blue and White Niles. The arrangements for inspecting the many architectural wonders which, with the exquisite climate, have made the Nile Valley the winter playground of the *élite*, are a model of experienced organisation.

The *Painted Tombs of Marissa*, recently published by the Fund, is now recognized as a very important contribution to the history and archæology of Palestine in the last centuries before our era. It may be mentioned that the leaflet containing the result of the investigations by Mr. Macalister at the Tombs last October has been published and can be had on application to the Acting Secretary by those who possess the volume.

It may be well to mention that plans and photographs alluded to in the reports from Jerusalem and elsewhere cannot all be published, but they are preserved in the office of the Fund, where they may be seen by subscribers. Those which were sent by Mr. Macalister illustrating the excavations at Gezer and which were not reproduced in his quarterly reports, have been held over for the final memoir.

The attention of subscribers and others is called to *A Table of the Christian and Mohammedan Eras*, from July 15th, A.D. 622, the date of the Hejira, to A.D. 1900, price by post, 7*d*. Also to the *Meteorological Observations at Jerusalem*, with tables and diagrams by the late Mr. James Glaisher, F.R.S. Tourists and all desirous of accurate information about the climate of Jerusalem should not fail to send for a copy, price 2*s*. 6*d*.

The attention of subscribers is also called to a work by Sir Charles Warren, entitled "The Ancient Cubit and our Weights and Measures." He brings evidence to show that all weights and measures (except those of the metrical system) are derived from one source—the double-cubit cubed of Babylonia.

The Museum and Library of the Palestine Exploration Fund at Jerusalem are in the Bishop's Buildings, near the Tombs of the Kings, where the use of a room has been kindly permitted by the Rev. Dr. Blyth, Bishop in Jerusalem and the East. The Museum is open daily, except Sundays, and the Honorary Secretary, Dr. D'Erf Wheeler, will give all information necessary.

The "Flora of Syria, Palestine, and Sinai," by the Rev. George E. Post, M.D., Beirût, Syria, containing descriptions of all the Phaenogams and Acrogens of the region, and illustrated by 441 woodcuts, may be had at the office of the Fund, price 21*s*.

The income of the Society from December 18th, 1906, to March 19th, 1907, was—from Annual Subscriptions and Donations, including Local Societies, £527 6*s*. 1*d*.; from sales of publications, &c., £106 13*s*. 11*d*.; making in all, £634 0*s*. 0*d*. The expenditure during the same period was £597 4*s*. 3*d*. On March 19th the balance in the bank was £382 1*s*. 6*d*.

Subscribers who have not yet paid, will greatly facilitate the Committee's efforts by sending their subscriptions in early, and thus save the expense of sending out reminders, as the outgoings on the excavations at Gezer will be a heavy drain on their funds.

The special donations during the quarter have been received from :—

W. Herbert Phillipps, Esq. ...	£5	0	0
N. S. Joseph, Esq.	£5	0	0
M. N. Adler, Esq.	£5	0	0
Clement J. Salaman, Esq. ...	£4	4	0

Subscribers to the Fund are reminded that, whilst the receipt of every subscription and contribution is promptly acknowledged by the Acting Secretary, they are now published annually, and not quarterly. A complete List of Subscribers and Subscriptions for 1906 is published with this number.

Subscribers in U.S.A. to the work of the Fund will please note that they can procure copies of any of the publications from the Rev. Professor Theo. F. Wright, Honorary General Secretary to the Fund, 42, Quincy Street, Cambridge, Mass.

The Committee will be glad to communicate with ladies and gentlemen willing to help the Fund as Honorary Secretaries.

Subscribers and others may be reminded that the new Raised Map of Palestine, constructed from the Surveys of the Palestine Exploration Fund by the Acting Secretary, is ready. It is on the scale of $6\frac{1}{4}$ miles to the inch and measures $3'\ 6'' \times 2'\ 6''$. It has already been used with great success by Professors of Old Testament history, and by teachers in Sunday Schools, and may be especially recommended for large classes of students. On view at the office of the Fund ; further particulars may be had on application.

In order to make up complete sets of the *Quarterly Statement*, the Committee will be very glad to receive any back numbers which subscribers do not wish to preserve.

A complete set of the *Quarterly Statements*, 1869–1905, containing the early letters, with an Index, 1869–1892, bound in the Palestine Exploration Fund cases, can be had. Price on application to the Acting Secretary, 38, Conduit Street, W.

Subscribers of one guinea and upwards will please note that they can still obtain a set, consisting of the "Survey of Eastern Palestine" (Colonel Conder) ; "Archæological Researches in Palestine," in two volumes

(Clermont-Ganneau); "Flora and Fauna of Sinai, Petra, and the Wady 'Arabah" (Hart), for £7 7*s*., but the price has been increased to the public to £9 9*s*. The price of single volumes to the public has also been increased. Applications should be made to the Acting Secretary.

The price of a complete set of the translations published by the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, in 13 volumes, with general index, bound in cloth, is £10 10*s*. A catalogue describing the contents of each volume can be had on application to the Secretary, 38, Conduit Street, W.

The Museum at the office of the Fund, 38, Conduit Street (a few doors from Bond Street), is open to visitors every week-day from 10 o'clock till 5, except Saturdays, when it is closed at 2 p.m.

Photographs of the late Dr. Schick's models (1) of the Temple of Solomon, (2) of the Herodian Temple, (3) of the Haram Area and Justinian's Church, and (4) of the Haram Area as it is at present, have been received at the office of the Fund. The four photographs, with an explanation by Dr. Schick, can be purchased by applying to the Acting Secretary, 38, Conduit Street, W.

Branch Associations of the Bible Society, all Sunday Schools within the Sunday School Institute, the Sunday School Union, and the Wesleyan Sunday School Institute, will please observe that by a special Resolution of the Committee they will henceforth be treated as subscribers and be allowed to purchase the books and maps (by application only to the Secretary) at reduced prices.

The Committee acknowledge with thanks the following :—

"The Argument *à priori* for the Being and the Attributes," by William Honyman Gillespie. From the Trustees of Mrs. Honyman Gillespie.

"Licensing and Temperance in Sweden, Norway, and Denmark." From the author, Edwin A. Pratt.

"The Truth of Christianity." From the author, Lieut.-Col. W. H. Turton, R.E., D.S.O.

"Arab and Druze at Home; Account of travel and intercourse with the peoples east of the Jordan." From the author, Rev. William Ewing, M.A.

"Al-Mashrik: Revue Catholique Orientale Bimensuelle." "Les terrains miniers du Sinai," by P. L. Szczepanski; "Les nouvelles découvertes Hittites," by P. S. T.; "Les voies romains de Ba'albek et de ses environs," by M. M. Alouf; "Causeries géographiques sur la Syrie," by P. H. Lammens; etc., etc.

ΝΕΑ ΣΙΩΝ, December, 1906.

"Altneuland," December, 1906.

"Jérusalem, Publication Mensuelle Illustrée," January, February, 1907.

"Recueil d'Archéologie Orientale," t. VIII, part 1. From the author, Prof. Clermont-Ganneau.

The Committee will be glad to receive donations of Books to the Library of the Fund, which already contains many works of great value relating to Palestine and other Bible lands. A catalogue of Books in the Library will be found in the July *Quarterly Statement*, 1893.

For list of authorised lecturers and their subjects, *see* end of the Journal, or write to the Secretary.

Whilst desiring to give publicity to proposed identifications and other theories advanced by officers of the Fund and contributors to the pages of the *Quarterly Statement*, the Committee wish it to be distinctly understood that by publishing them in the *Quarterly Statement* they do not necessarily sanction or adopt them.

Form of Bequest to the Palestine Exploration Fund.

I give to the Palestine Exploration Fund, London, the sum of _____ to be applied towards the General Work of the Fund; and I direct that the said sum be paid, free of Legacy Duty, and that the Receipt of the Treasurer of the Palestine Exploration Fund shall be a sufficient discharge to my Executors.

Signature _____

Witnesses _____

_____

_____

Note.—*Three Witnesses are necessary in the United States of America. Two suffice in Great Britain.*

DIARY OF A VISIT TO ṢAFED.

By R. A. Stewart Macalister, M.A., F.S.A.

With Travel-notes of the Journey from Nâblus to Ṣafed, viâ Beisân.

By Dr. E. W. G. Masterman, M.A., F.S.A.

As the guest of Dr. Masterman, who during the present year is in charge of the London Jews' Society's Hospital at Ṣafed, I spent about three weeks in Galilee in January of the present year, and was enabled to make a number of observations, which I propose in the present communication to lay before the readers of the *Quarterly Statement*. It has seemed most convenient, in view of the diversity of character in these notes, not to attempt to classify them, but to present them in the form of a diary.[1]

Wednesday, 2nd January, 1907.—Accompanied by Dr. Masterman and a friend from London, as well as by Yusif, the foreman of the Fund's excavation works (whom I took with me to assist in measurements, etc.), I left Jerusalem at 7 a.m. We took advantage of the gradually progressing carriage-road to Nâblus by driving to *Khan Lebban*, which is the present terminus of the completed portion. The last time I travelled by this road, about three years ago, it had been constructed as far as Sinjil only: it is a matter for thankfulness that it is no longer necessary to use the abominable bridle-path which the newly-finished section supersedes. At Khan Lebban we found the horses, which had been sent in advance the day before, awaiting us, and rode through showers of rain to Nâblus, where we arrived about sundown. On the way we paused to visit Jacob's Well. The Greeks are gradually clearing the foundation of the church (Crusaders', with Byzantine materials re-used) erected over

[1] [As it was impossible to publish all the photographs, sketches, and plans with which Mr. Macalister illustrated his remarks, those which are not here reproduced can be seen at the Fund's Office.—Ed.]

this site, and presumably intend in time to re-erect a building upon it. It was too late and too dark to attempt to make a plan of the structure, even if the presiding genius of the place had permitted such a proceeding. Proceeding towards the city we noticed traces of recent illicit tomb-robbing on Mount Ebal. It is only too evident that much damage has been done. The tombs here seem all to be late, with *arcosolia*, no *kokim*. One tomb at least has a stone panelled door, swinging on hinges.

Civilisation is making itself felt even in the backward town of Nâblus, and has recently become materialised in the shape of an imposing hotel, established by the Hamburg-America Company at the north end of the town. The small boys of Nâblus have, however, not yet learnt to desist from greeting strangers with highly objectionable expressions!

Thursday, 3rd January.—Leaving Nâblus we took the path that diverges at the Barracks eastward from the Jerusalem road. We halted for a moment at the village of *'Askar*, and examined the copious flow of water that issues from a tunnel hewn in the rock at the eastern end of the village. At the mouth of the tunnel is a masonry platform, in which is to be seen a stone about 80 cm. long, evidently taken from some building. A sketch is forwarded. Dr. Masterman and I went up the tunnel a short way—not having satisfactory lights we could not explore it to its end; but so far as we went it seemed in every way similar to the rock-hewn water-courses I have already seen and measured in various places in Southern Palestine.

The village and its spring naturally led us to a discussion, that added an interest to our way, upon the site of Sychar, the "city of Samaria" referred to in John iv, 5.

The main points of this controversy are fairly well known. By Jerome and others of the early centuries Sychar was spoken of as *distinct* from Shechem (Nâblus) being a mile east of it. The theory adopted by the Crusaders (and therefore probably wrong), strangely countenanced by Robinson, *identified* the two places. In the last century Canon Williams proposed the identification with *'Askar*, in which he has been followed by practically every writer since.

The identification, however, has been seen to be not free from difficulty. The lesser difficulty, however, is that to which the greatest weight has been attached: I refer to the presence of the letter *'ain* in the name of the modern village, which does not appear

in any old Semitic equivalent of "Sychar." Prof. G. A. Smith (who, in his *Historical Geography*, devotes a chapter to the question of Sychar) meets this difficulty satisfactorily by recalling the analogous case of *Ascalon*, which in modern Arabic has likewise developed an *'ain*. In any case, it would be very easy for the letter to intrude in the name of the village under discussion, by means of a popular etymological confusion with the common Arabic word *'askar*, the regular colloquial expression for "soldiers."

But to my mind the chief—the insurmountable—difficulty lies in the presence of the spring, which is convenient and sufficiently copious to supply the modern village. A brief consideration of the narrative will show that the Samaritan woman came from some waterless settlement. Her words of misunderstanding, "give me this water, that I thirst not, neither come all the way hither to draw" (v. 15), show that to satisfy her own bodily wants she was at all times obliged to come to Jacob's Well as the nearest source of supply. This rules out Shechem, with its many springs, as her dwelling-place, and also, in my opinion, rules out 'Askar.[1] Dr. Masterman, to whom I stated this objection, reminded me that someone had already anticipated it, and had met it by assuming that the woman was drawing water *for the reapers*. I have not been able to lay my hand on the reference to this contribution to the question, but it is obviously an inadmissible evasion; for beside the woman's definite statement, above quoted, that she used the water of Jacob's Well for domestic purposes, we learn from v. 35 that the incident took place four months before harvest-time (for surely the words which follow, "the fields . . . . . are white already unto harvest" are to be understood figuratively).

Moreover, I could not see at 'Askar any recognizable signs of a pre-Arab settlement. Now between Nâblus and 'Askar, on the right-hand side of the road, there is a small mound of rubbish, 324 paces in length and 128 in maximum breadth. It is just north of the hamlet of Balâta, from which it takes its modern name, *Tall Balâta*. It is covered with potsherds, that show it to have been occupied at any rate from the period of the Hebrew monarchy till the time of the Roman occupation. In the absence of any evidence of other ancient settlements near to Jacob's Well, I

[1] That the woman was a native of *Sychar* is nowhere definitely stated in the narrative, but I think the evangelist means to imply this by his mention of the name of the village.

venture to suggest that this mound may be the actual site of the long-lost Sychar. In fig. 1 is a sketch map shewing the relative positions of the places in question.

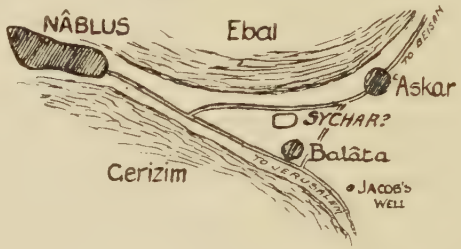


Fig. 1.—Sketch map showing suggested site of Sychar.

It might be objected that so small a mound would hardly be signified as a "city" (πόλις). But πόλις is used quite loosely: the prohibition in Matt. x, 5, to "enter not into any city (πόλις) of the Samaritans" is surely meant to include villages of any size.

Proceeding on our way we crossed a *col*, at the top of which there burst on our eyes the most impressive piece of scenery I have seen in Palestine—the glorious *Wady Bilân*, down which we rode for some miles.

I may pass over in silence the various villages that we noticed, as I am able to append many valuable observations, taken as we proceeded, by Dr. Masterman. We paused for a few moments at the group of Roman milestones marked on the inch map (sheet XII) between *Tûbâs* and *Teiâsîr*. One of them bears an inscription of which a few letters can be deciphered: they were originally picked out with red paint, of which traces still remain:—

. . . . . NID . . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . CONSTANTINVS
. . . . . .
. . . . . MIL . . . . . .

The rest is quite hopeless. There are six of these stones, most of them of the ordinary shape—a cylinder rising from a rectangular base—but one has a roll-moulding intervening between the shaft and the base.

At Teiâsîr (I follow the orthography of the map, though *Tayasîr* would be preferable) we stopped for lunch at the curious little building known as *El-Ḳusr*, described in the *S.W.P. Memoirs* (Vol. ii, p. 245). I have forwarded an elevation of the doorway; in the *Memoirs'* sketch the mouldings are not given quite correctly, nor are the masonry joints marked.

The masonry of the building so completely resembles that of the Galilean synagogues that there can be little doubt that it is of the same date, and possibly was used by a small community for the same purpose, although its close connexion with tombs makes this latter suggestion rather doubtful. A large tomb has been cleared out underneath the building since the description in the Survey was written. It is a single square chamber, about 16 feet in diameter, having arcosolia recesses in each of the three inner sides. I send two photographs: one of them showing *El-Ḳusr* in its present state (it has suffered considerably since the survey photograph was taken); the other showing the relation between it and the tomb below. Of the fragment of a classic cornice, sketched in the *Memoir*, no trace now remains, except a very pretty piece of floral scroll-work on a stone lying hard by, now stopping up the mouth of a disused cistern.

There are several other tombs near by, which time and want of light prevented our exploring properly. In the rock on which the sculptured stone just mentioned is lying there is cut a wine-press.

The Teiâsîr people are no more superior to the temptations of illicit tomb-robbing than others of their kind. From the sheikh I heard the usual alluring stories of the lucky man who found a bit of glass in a tomb with a woman's head upon it, and gained thereby £100—which I need not say is a sum of such a fabulous amount to most *fellaḥin* that it is more suggestive to them of the dreamlands of the *Arabian Nights* than anything else. I have heard of this bit of glass before; but it is getting dearer—the last time its price was mentioned to me it was £7. The two discrepant statements may perhaps be reconciled by supposing the one to be the price paid *by* the dealer to the lucky finder, and the other the price paid *to* the dealer by the rich *Ingliz*—by all accounts this would represent about the usual proportion of profit in such transactions. It is easy to see how disastrous an effect these exciting stories must have on a people in whose life *money* constitutes the one thought by day and the one dream by night. The entire responsibility, of course, rests

on the persons usually and correctly described as "Frankish lunatics" by the Arabs with whom they come in contact.

Leaving Teiâsîr with such painful reflections in our minds—noting an uninscribed milestone at the end of the village—we passed down a rapidly deteriorating road till we reached a place where riding was impossible owing to long stretches of slippery rocks, over which we were obliged cautiously to lead our horses. When this unpleasant section was passed we found a better road, and, shortly after, one more group of milestones (also marked on the map) near the embouchure of the *Wady el-Khushneh*. Two of these are inscribed, but one of them (which like the previously described example has been "picked out" with red paint) is hopeless. On the other I could make out—

IMP
CAES
IVLIAN
MAXIMVS
NOBILIS
HCM

but a good deal of this also is worn and broken off.

The following notes of the day's journey were made by Dr. Masterman:—

The route from Nâblus to Ṣafed *viâ* Beisân (though the usual one for Jews and others going from Galilee to Jerusalem, and, as will be shown, over much of its course an ancient highway) is one but seldom taken by travellers in Palestine, and, so far as I know, it is not described anywhere in detail. The section from *Nâblus* to *Beisân* is, in all the guide books I have consulted, described from the itinerary of Robinson, who took a road in places quite different from that I am here describing; while the section from *Tiberias* to *Ṣafed* (though a much-traversed modern high-road familiar to every muleteer in North Palestine) is entirely ignored in favour of a much longer route *viâ Khan Minyeh*. The times mentioned are everywhere for *slow* travelling, as Mr. Macalister and I rode slowly and stopped several times *en route* to examine objects of interest.

We left the new Nâblus Hotel a little after 7 a.m. (barometer 28·6), skirted the city to the north on the ordinary Nâblus–Jerusalem road. Near the Barracks, we (at 7.20) turned off to the north-east, towards the eastern extremity of Ebal. At 7.40 we passed a rock-cut grave in a rocky projection to the right of the road just below which lay a considerable *tell*—evidently an ancient site.[1] Before us to the east lay the northern

[1] The same as that above identified with Sychar.—[R. A. S. M.]

extension of the *Mukhneh*. In the foreground was the traditional tomb of Joseph, while much farther to the east we could just make out the little modern village of *Salim*, near a small plain which drains to the north. In a quarter of an hour, we reached the village of *'Askar* which, though now but a group of hovels, is supposed by many to be the site of Sychar (John iv, 5). The copious fountain of this village is well known: even after the long drought there was an abundant supply. The present outlet is the mouth of a long tunnel partly rock-cut and partly built under some of the houses. How a woman of a village so well supplied with water came to the neighbouring "Jacob's Well" for water is a problem to which it cannot be said that any satisfactory answer has been given. It may be that, as has often happened, the name has been transferred here from a village ill supplied with water which has now disappeared.

At 8.17 we passed some ruins, one perhaps a small khan, and at 8.21 the path divided; we took the upper. Crossing a low ridge a magnificent prospect opened before us. To the right (east) towered the mountain range *Jebel Bilân* crowned by a shrine of the same name. The steep, and in places almost precipitous, slopes of this mountain are very fine. At one spot we could discern a "natural bridge" crossing a ravine. Between us and the mountain was the wild and rugged *Wady Bilân* descending rapidly to the north-east. The view to the north and north-east is one vast amphitheatre circled by hills on the north, west and south. In the centre are the roots of the *Wady Fara'*, on the course of which could be seen the roofs of many mills. Proceeding along a narrow —though for Palestine fairly good—path in the steep hill-side we at 9.5 came in sight of *Tallûzeh*, a large village with extensive groves of olives, above us to our left. A steep descent of ten minutes brought us into the bottom of the *Wady Tallûzeh* (bar. 29·37). Following the rugged and stony torrent-bed we, at 9.35, found the road divide. The path ascending is the direct road, but our muleteer recommended us to take a less rocky path to the right; after ten minutes we reached a spring and saw a mill below us in the valley; we turned sharp to the left up a steep and stony valley, and at 10 o'clock joined the direct route coming from the left. We turned to the right and ascended a small ridge. Looking back we had a view of part of *Tallûzeh* and its olive groves perhaps half a mile off, while between us and the modern village lay a magnificent *tell*. If, as Robinson suggests, we have in *Tallûzeh* an echo of the name *Tirzah*, this *tell* must be the site of the ancient capital of the kingdom of Israel (1 Kings xiv, 17; xv, 33, etc.). From this point we could also see the village of *Tammûn* to the east, and slightly east of north, across the wide valley of the Fara', the olive groves of *Tûbâs*. At 10.12 we passed an extensive ruined site on our left and commenced to descend a narrow wady. At 10.35 we passed a cave, partly artificial, on the left, and in five minutes reached the dry stream bed of one branch of the *Wady Fara'*.

We next crossed a small hill chiefly of conglomerate rock of rounded pebbles, passed a *tell*, apparently partly artificial, on our right, and descending once more reached at 10.50 the copious *'Ain Fara'*. The water bursts forth from several adjacent sources and flows off a copious mill-stream bordered by masses of oleanders. After watering our horses we ascended a stony path, the most easterly of three roads before us. To our east, on a hill overhanging the stream, lay the *Burj Fara'*, the ruins of a small fortress probably of the times of the Crusaders. Entering a valley to the left, we at 11.20 caught sight of an uptilted olive mill on the hillside to the right, and a few minutes later encountered our first indubitable traces of the ancient Roman road which we followed for the rest of the day. At 11.41 our road turned up a very rocky path to the right, and in a quarter of an hour we reached the olive groves of *Tûbâs*. The direct road leaves the village itself some 200 yards on the left. It is picturesquely situated on a hillside at the western extremity of a very fertile basin. It is probable that this is the site of Thebez (Judges ix, 50 ; 2 Sam. xi, 21). When I spent a night there some years ago I saw many ancient tombs around the village, indeed as we passed on this occasion rock-cuttings and tombs were visible from the high-road. The road led us due north across the plain ; half way across we encountered a caravan of most bedraggled-looking muleteers and Jews from Tiberias and Ṣafed. In ten minutes (12.10) we crossed a ridge and saw the village of *Teiasîr* in the valley before us (the *Wady el-Khushneh*). After descending the road for five minutes we encountered a group of six broken Roman mile-stones on one of which, the least weathered, Mr. Macalister deciphered the name of Constantine. Following traces of the old road along the valley and up the eastern slope we, at 12.55, reached a curious ruin on the outskirts of the village. The owner of the property has recently been making some excavations on his own account and has cleared out a tomb-cavern with three arcosolia lying respectively north, east, and south *under* the ruin. In the rubbish near the entrance lay many fragments of Roman pottery and bones of cattle, but all traces of human bones and other treasures that may have been laid in the tomb with them have disappeared. It is the same everywhere in the land. Tomb robbery is rampant, and all that is really valuable to the archæologist is being destroyed for the sake of procuring a few very ordinary vases of ancient glass ! The building above the tomb has a moulded marble portal facing north, and square pilasters in relief on the walls around. It is greatly ruined and the stones, specially to the east, much disfigured by weathering. It is unlikely that any stones worth removing will be left *in situ* much longer, now that the owner has commenced to take an active interest in the property. There are several cisterns around. We lunched within this old building.

We left at 1.50 and passed numerous tombs and cisterns near the village. Although the inhabitants appear to be entirely dependent on

cistern water, yet from the old remains there can be no doubt this was an inhabited site in Roman times. The situation is attractive on a low spur round which the *Wady el-Khushneh* sweeps as it turns sharply from north to east. The land around, both to the south-east of the village and in the valley, appears to be unusually fertile, and the hills, to the east in particular, are well-wooded. What the site may have been it is impossible to say; but it struck us that the three villages we had passed, *Tallâzeh*, *Tûbâs*, and *Teiasîr*, all occupied situations so attractive that they could hardly have been overlooked in ancient times. Just before leaving the village we passed a Roman milestone and, to our great surprise, observed the tracks of cart-wheels. At first we thought that wheeled traffic must somehow have reached here from Beisân, but on further enquiry we found that an enterprising Effendi—apparently the tomb excavator!—has conveyed a cart here in separate sections to convey manure to the fields from further east. We descended a small rough defile full of trees and shrubs and, crossing the *Wady el-Khushneh*, went straight on to the north up a steep ascent. At 2.30, we reached the summit of the ridge and passed a *khurbeh*, apparently that marked on the P.E.F. map as *Mukhubby*. The remains seem to be Roman or Byzantine. Descending the well-wooded valley before us and bearing to the right (north-east), we entered one of the best forested districts I have seen in Western Palestine. Whole hillsides for miles were covered with shrubs, of *buḳs* (box), *suwwaid*, *'addûk*, and *rutm*—among which stood trees of terebinth, various kinds of oak, and enormous numbers of wild olives. Although I have known of groves of wild olives round the deserted or semi-deserted sites of villages, I have never elsewhere seen hundreds of these trees covering the mountain side to the very summit. Our muleteer recognised them as wild olives (*zeitûn barrîyeh*), and said that the fruit was scanty and useless. Of course, if grafted all these trees might be made fruit-bearing and the grove might become a profitable investment. An old grove at *Mughâr* in Galilee has in recent years been gradually reclaimed in this way. My impression is that wherever wild olives occur, in Palestine at any rate, they are descendants of the cultivated plant. When the trunk of the original grafted stock dies, the new branches, growing from the root, are always of the wild variety, indeed all ungrafted plants are wild or semi-wild. Whether some are self-propagated from the olive-berries themselves is doubtful. I am told that it is possible to grow olives thus but it is uncommon. Probably the more stony and less oily wild berries are more successful as seed. Yusif, Mr. Macalister's man, had a story that olives could only be successfully sown when eaten and deposited by a certain bird which he called *dallâm*. By the above theory this valley, down which we were travelling, must once have been the site of a considerable population, and the inhabited site may have been at the neighbouring *Khurbet Ibsik*, supposed to be the site of Bezek (Judges i, 4). Eusebius identifies the site as hereabouts and in his day two neighbouring

villages of this name stood here: the region is now uninhabited except by *bedu*. At 3 o'clock we passed a group of four milestones, and at 3.45 the valley became too rough for riding. Here appeared considerable gravel deposits from the old Jordan Valley lake bed (bar. 30·23). At 4 o'clock we reached the mouth of the narrow part of the wady. The path ascended the valley-side to the left, and in five minutes we reached another group of milestones. Two lay beside the road, but seven other fragments had been rolled down the steep slope and lay at various distances from the road. On one piece, under a bush half-way down the hill, Mr. Macalister found the name of the Emperor Julian. We were clearly on the Roman road again, but what course it had followed between this and the point where we had seen the last milestones we could not determine; it hardly could have followed the torrent-bed as we had been compelled to do. From near this point the whole *Ghôr* opened out before us. We could see the eastern mountains from near Gadara in the north to *Jebal 'Osha* above *es-Sâlt* on the south. The *Kulat er-Rabûd* was very distinct against the sky-line due east of us. The plain of Beisân lay before us to the north with the town itself just below the south-eastern extremity of the Galilean hills.

We now turned our steps in this direction, descending a small shallow valley. At 4.50 we passed a considerable mass of ruins on our right, known as *Rejum Ka'ûn*, and in a few minutes reached a small spring arising in a marshy valley bed. The squalid village of *Ka'ûn* lay a few yards to our east on the south bank of the wady. We ascended the north bank and entered the plain. At 5.10 we passed the village of *es-Samarîyeh*, built on the ruin of that name, marked in the maps. Here we crossed two streams. At 5.25 we rounded a small double *tell*—apparently chiefly of natural formation. At 5.35 we passed a ruined *wely* in a small grove of fine *Nebk* trees, and in five minutes more commenced to skirt the western end of the enormous *Tell Sarîm*. By this time night was gathering fast, and in the ever-increasing darkness we made our way over a number of small streams, branches of the *Nahr Jalûd*. We reached the khan at Beisân at 6.30; bar. 30·7.

For the sake of succeeding travellers we may say we obtained clean and comfortable, though primitive, accommodation in the rooms attached to the khan. (Time taken, 10 hours easy travelling, exclusive of halts.)

Friday, 4th January.—We devoted a couple of hours in the morning to a walk round the remains of *Beisân*, the ancient Beth-Shean and the Graeco-Roman Scythopolis. It is a wonderful site, but it has already been so often described, that there is nothing that could be added from our hasty examination. Excavation would yield rich results from all periods, from Amorite to Arab. I estimated roughly that its complete examination within the time

allowed by an Ottoman permit would require from £700 to £1,000 a month. As the public will spend its money on such folly as the "Garden Tomb," or in subsidising the rascals who have found out that Beisân is a profitable mine for plunder, it is to be feared that England will never have the honour of discovering what lies hidden beneath the ruins of ancient Scythopolis.

The Necropolis of Beisân is enough to make an archaeologist weep. Rows on rows of recently plundered tombs gape in the hill side, making one think of a library of unique manuscripts that

Fig. 2.—Beth-Shean.

have been destroyed by an army of savages. The Nazareth dealers are the usual channels whereby the Beisân antiquities reach the market. I forward photographs showing the sites of Beth-Shean (fig. 2) and of Scythopolis (fig. 3), and the remains of the fine Roman bridge. There seems to have been a street of columns running round the Beth-shean tell, which, in the later periods of the city's history, probably served as an acropolis. One of these columns has a curious console projecting from one side, as though for the support of an arch or lintel.

Leaving Beisân, we passed by the modern cemetery, where I noticed a grave very elaborately decorated with red and blue lines painted on the plaster, a curious variant of the usual palm-leaf motive of ornamentation (fig. 4). We then proceeded by the Roman road running northward along the western side of the Ghôr, without making any observations that specially need recording—under the Crusader fortress, now known as *Kaukab el-Hawa*, across the *Wady Bîreh*, and past the *Jisr el-Mujâmi'a*, till we reached the spot where the road impinges on the course of the Jordan, im-

Fig. 3.—Scythopolis.

mediately south of its confluence with the Yarmûk. At this picturesque bend in the river we halted for midday rest and refreshment. There is here a ruined settlement, built of basalt, now a shapeless heap, which has not been recorded on the inch map; it is immediately east of the road, and immediately south of the river-bend referred to. As there was no one to be seen in that deserted region save our own selves, we were unable to ascertain its name. There is little of any interest to be seen in this ruin; the only carved stones we noticed were part of a large door-jamb,

with a reveal and bolt-holes, and a fragment of a sarcophagus, with two round flat bosses cut in relief on its sides.

Proceeding thence we continued along the northern road. In passing the picturesque but evil-smelling and (to judge from the miserable physical appearance of the inhabitants) unhealthy village of *'Abediyeh*, we were interested to notice the firewood of the community piled up on the graveyard, evidently with the expectation that the ghosts of the dead would protect the property of the living. Such a practice is common and well-known throughout the country.

At the southern end of the Sea of Galilee we left the path for a little in order to examine the great *tell*, known as Kerak, and commonly identified with Tarichaea. So far as I can judge, the identification is sound. We want a fairly large city whose history begins in the Graeco-Roman period, and this is just what the

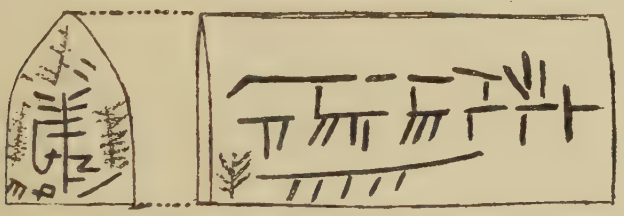


Fig. 4.—Modern tomb at Beisân (fine line blue, dotted lines red).

appearance of the *tell* indicates; for whatever city it may have been, it was an extensive settlement of the Graeco-Roman period (as the potsherds show) and with little or no previous history, as appears from the evidently shallow depth of the accumulation. I do not profess to have gone fully into the question whether the position of the *tell* will suit the historical references to the city, my superficial reading on this point has not, I may say, suggested any doubts of the identification proposed.

From Kerak we made our way to Tiberias, where we spent the night. As before, I append Dr. Masterman's notes to the day's ride :—

In the morning, before leaving, we spent two hours wandering about the site occupied successively by the cities of Beth-Shean and Scythopolis. I had been here some years before with Mr. Dickie, and it seemed to me that much that was then on the surface had now been destroyed or been

covered by the rapidly growing native village and gardens. The modern town consists of a straggling group of mud hovels and one street of fairly well built stone (basalt) houses, along which are planted a number of Persian lilacs. It is situated on the high ground to the right (*i.e.*, south) of the great wady in which, apparently, lay the principal buildings of the ancient chief city of the Decapolis. The new railway station is a mile off to the north-west on the north bank of the river.

The valley of the *Nahr Jalud*, which here flows through high, steep banks, is at *Beisân* greatly widened by the inflow of another stream from he south-west. The two streams have together eroded a wide area, in the midst of which has been left a steep hill—*Tell el-Ḥuṣn*—the site at once of the earliest settlements and of the Acropolis of Graeco-Roman times. This very remarkable *tell* consists of the natural lacustrine deposits to the same level as the high banks to the north and south, the natural soft rock appearing in places to this level; but above this is a great accumulation of rubbish, the remains of successive civilizations. Pottery of all periods is scattered around. Extensive remains of a great encircling wall are visible in many parts of the *tell*. The ruined theatre is built in the west bank of the wady facing the Acropolis. Though much destroyed, its main architectural features are discernible. There are scattered columns between the theatre and the Acropolis, and also to the east, which suggest that there was once here a street of columns, as at Jerash. Perhaps the most striking place for grasping the general situation of Scythopolis is from the ruined bridge spanning the River *Jalud* to the west of *Tell el-Ḥuṣn*. Much of the original massive Roman work remains, though the present narrow bridge is Arab work built on a portion of the old foundations. Here, looking down the gorge of the river towards the Jordan, one can realize the magnificence of the site selected by the old Greek settlers. Fine as are the sites of *Jerâsh* and *Ammân*, this situation is by nature adapted for an even greater city; the ruins, however, are much more completely destroyed. The river (even in the season when streams are at their lowest) was abundant, and that after it had supplied dozens of off-shoots to fertilize the surrounding plain. It is now half hidden by tangled brambles and reeds, but still works a few semi-ruined mills. The nature-loving Greek must have delighted in these abundant, rushing waters; while the plain, for miles around, abundantly irrigated by the simplest care, is capable of supplying sustenance to a great population. The extensive scattered ruins, covering an area probably larger than any other half-deserted site in Western Palestine, testify to the abundant life which must once have been here. Another testimony is the great necropolis which apparently covers the whole of the north bank of the river, beyond the ancient city's boundaries. Sad to say, the ubiquitous tomb-robber has been very active here, and the hill in places presents an extraordinary mottled appearance from hundreds of little mounds of earth, each marking the site of a rifled tomb—and *a lost*

antiquarian treasure! From the high ground to the west of Beisân, also strewn with ruins, we looked up the "Vale of Jezreel" between *Jebal Dahi* on the north and the *Jebal Fuku'a* (mountains of Gilboa) on the south, and saw the summit of Carmel in the east—a striking reminder at once of the flatness of the Plain of Esdraelon and of the narrowness of the strip of land known as Western Palestine.

We left Beisân at 9.30. The road commenced with the newly-made avenue of Persian lilacs already referred to. It then crossed the Jalûd by a low Arab bridge, in a most dangerous condition of disrepair. From here an artificial water channel, fast silting up, skirted our road to the east for some miles. At 10.35 we passed three milestones and a small ruin on a low hill. The railway line soon approached us on the hills to the left, and after a mile or so it crossed our path and descended rapidly towards the Jordan. Our road was in good condition, but although evidently an ancient highway, it showed few signs of artificial construction. At 11.35 we passed below *Kaukab el-Hawa*, the ruined remains of Belfort of the Crusaders, and at 11.44 found a milestone a little to our right. At 12.15 the road abruptly descended almost to the level of the Jordan, which here bends westward. To the south-east we could see about a quarter of a mile off the old *Jesr el-Mujâmi'a* and the Khan, and close to them the modern railway bridge, making, with the river and its wooden banks, a pretty picture. The hills to the west are at this point peculiar. There has been a volcanic outflow down a small break in the mountain range. The volcanic stone can be distinctly seen emerging from between the limestone cliffs and spreading itself out delta-wise over the plateau; it does not descend into the *zôr* or actual trough of the Jordan. Ascending once again to the plateau, we, in half an hour, again approached the bridges of the Jordan in the neighbourhood of some ruins, among which was a black basalt sarcophagus. At 12.50 we reached the banks of the river itself. At this spot, immediately after the *Yarmûk* joins the Jordan, the river bends sharp to the east, and a considerable stretch of it was visible. While lunching we noticed a peculiar phenomenon. A slight breeze sprang up from the west, which blowing lengthways down the stretch of river, impinged at the end on some high banks. A curious rumbling sound was produced, which we took for some minutes to be due to a train passing up the Jordan valley; but careful observation showed that the loudness of the sound varied directly with the strength of the wind. At 2 o'clock we resumed our way. After half an hour we crossed a small wady with running water, and a little later again approached the Jordan near the picturesque village of "*el-Abeidîyeh*." The village, as viewed from the south, is on a low hill directly overhanging the river; in the foreground is a small open plain; on the left a stretch of blue river, overhung by steep banks to the east; while to the west of the village was a grove of trees, including a few palms.

Our road took us to the west of the village, where we passed the cemetery, in which were numerous ploughs, bundles of wood, etc., left to the guardianship of the Spirits of the Dead.

At 3.30 we reached a forlorn-looking "Jewish Colony," called *Melhamîyeh*, consisting of a single wide street of red-tiled one-storied buildings. This and the neighbouring colony of *Yemma*, in the *Wady Fejjâs*, have an evil repute for unhealthiness; indeed, it seems a strange idea to plant European Jews in the miasmatic *Ghôr*. At *Isbaid*, on the Huleh, not only malignant malaria, but even the terrible "black-water fever" (the scourge of tropical Africa) is prevalent. As we passed the fields of *Melhamîyeh* we were glad to see many young Jews themselves handling the plough—a work they have left in most parts of Palestine to their *fellahîn* workmen. From this colony to Tiberias we followed a rough carriage road. Wherever the Jewish colonies are established, there the Jews manage to bring wheeled traffic—often by the most surprising routes. The same is true of the Circassian settlers east of the Jordan.

Our route was now all the way within sight of the Jordan. We passed a ruined bridge (*Jisr es-Sidd*), the piers of which still stand in the bed of the river: near it is a weir across the river, diverting much of the water into a canal on the west bank. On the opposite bank is the village *Umm Jânieh*. A few minutes further on is the more extensively ruined bridge known as *Umm el-Kanâtir*. At 4 o'clock we reached *Kerak*, a picturesque *tell*, partly artificial, at the opening of the Jordan from the lake. It is surrounded by water on more than two-thirds of its circumference, and evidently has been at times entirely so surrounded. Many would identify *Kerak* with the Tarichaea of Josephus, and there is certainly no other site which has better claims. We gather from Josephus (*Wars*, III, ch. x, § 1–3; IV, ch. 1, § 1) that Tarichaea was on the west side of the lake, 30 stadia (3¾ miles) from Tiberias, easily approached from the lake, which washed it on some sides. It was in or near a plain, and near enough to a mountain for arrows to be fired into it. Pliny states that it was to the south of Tiberias. The one practical difficulty is that Vespasian, coming from Beisân, came to Tiberias before Tarichaea. This need not, however, present an invincible difficulty, if we suppose, as has been suggested, that Vespasian approached Tiberias by way of the mountains—a by no means difficult route—with a view to reducing the more politically divided city before dealing with Tarichaea, which appears to have been peopled by fanatical irreconcilables. It is expressly stated that there were hot springs between the two cities, and there are no suitable springs except those now utilized by the hot baths south of Tiberias. What struck us in visiting Kerak was the unique natural advantages of the site. There is no site on the whole compass of the lake more suited for an ancient fortified city; while the quantity of Roman pottery about, as well as the extensive remains of wall-foundations

show that it must have been occupied in the Roman period. The name *Kerak* may indeed preserve some echo of the name Tarichaea; and if Tarichaea was not here, what other city does this site represent?

Leaving *Kerak*, we descended the *tell* near an ancient causeway across the moat, and rejoined the main road. To our left were a few ruins on a small *tell*, known as *Sinn en-Nabrah*, a name which probably is a survival of the name of the old Roman fortress of Sinnabris, which was somewhere in the neighbourhood. From this spot, at the south-west corner of the lake, we followed the new and somewhat roughly finished carriage road, past the tomb of the famous Jewish Rabbi Meyer and the celebrated hot springs, and arrived at Tiberias at 5 o'clock. (Time taken, 6½ hours, easy travelling.)

Saturday, 5th January.—Leaving Tiberias early, we rode along the shore of the lake to the hamlet of *Mejdel*. On the way, as we passed, Dr. Masterman indicated a small rock projecting from the surface of the water, a few feet from the land, called *Hajar en-Niml*, or "stone of the ants," and told me this tale which he had picked up about it. It seems that on this bare stone a nest of ants had their habitation, once on a time, and were regarded as a permanent and miraculous illustration of Divine Providence, in that they were able to derive a living from so very unpromising a source. A certain infidel took this ill, and in order to get rid of so inconvenient an object lesson, he laid a long reed between the rock and the shore; the ants took advantage of the bridge thus provided them and abandoned their desert island for the more fruitful mainland. I translated this tale for the benefit of Yusif, who views all such legends with a cold scientific scepticism. He prosaically suggested that the rock had fallen into the sea, ants and all, in an earthquake! I forgot to mention that, of course, summary vengeance fell on the infidel.

From Mejdel, which may or may not be the Magdala of the gospels, we went past *'Ain el-Medawwerah*, of which I shall have occasion to speak later, through a village with the familiar name of *Abû Shûsheh*, and so on to the miserable, slippery, rocky bridle-path, which is one of the thoroughfares to the important town of *Ṣafed*.

It speaks much for the natural advantages of the site of Ṣafed that this town has grown to so considerable a size. For, from every direction, the approach to the hill-top on which it stands is a monotonous and wearisome climb, and all the roads leading to it are bad, even for Palestine. Owing to its conspicuous situation, it commands superb views all round, and is itself visible from a great

distance—we saw it first on our Thursday's journey, over 40 miles away. On this account it has become popular among a certain class of writers to speak of Ṣafed as the "city set on a hill" referred to in Matthew v, 14. Such prosaic people are worthy to be classed with the mediaeval persons who identified the House of Dives and the Inn of the Samaritan, or with the modern tourists who saw in the Apis-bull mummies the cattle of Pharaoh's dream. As a matter of fact, there is no reason whatever to suppose that in Our Lord's time Ṣafed had any existence at all, save as an altogether insignificant village.

The only evidences of pre-mediaeval antiquity that the city can boast lies in a few sherds of Roman pottery strewn sparsely over the mound in its midst, upon which rises the Crusader's castle; and *one* rock-tomb, which will be described in due course.

The following are Dr. Masterman's notes:—

Leaving Tiberias about 6.30 we skirted the lake northwards. At 7 o'clock we passed a steep hill on our left, crowned by the ruin *Khurbet el-Kaneitrîyeh* (a suggested site for Tarichaea), and just beyond it crossed the *Wady el-Amîs*, up which runs a much-frequented road to Nazareth and (*viâ Khan el-Tujâr*) to Jerusalem. The more ancient route by the *Wady el-Hamâm* is little used now, because of the extreme roughness of the paths. In another quarter of an hour we reached *Mejdel*. Here a German has lately acquired a good deal of property, and has just made a good road towards the "Plain of Gennesaret," in order to divert the old path from a piece of ground upon which have lately been found ruined foundations, supposed to be those of a church. Our path kept due north and traversed the whole western edge of *el-Ghuweir* from south to north. There was no water in the first channel we crossed, that from Wady Hamâm. We next visited *'Ain el-Medawwereh*, where I had an unsuccessful hunt for mud turtles, some of which I was anxious to bring to Ṣafed. From *'Ain el-Medawwereh* a copious stream flows southwards to the lake. North of this we crossed the stream of *Wady er-Rûbûdîyeh*, and a little further on the other half of the same stream, which is diverted to work the mills at *Abû Shûsheh*. Lastly, at the extreme north-west corner of *el-Ghuweir*, we crossed by a modern bridge the stream running out of *Wady el-Amûd*. There four streams, *i.e.*, that from *'Ain el-Medawwereh*, the *Wady er-Rûbûdêyeh*, the *Abu Shusheh* mill stream, and the *Wady Amûd* stream all traverse the "Plain of Gennesaret," and enter the lake in the above order from west to east. It may be that in very exceptional seasons some of these fail to reach the lake, but in every season of the year for many years I have always found them there. At 8.30 we commenced a steady ascent over a rocky, and in places slippery, path.

Looking back, the whole "Plain of Gennesaret" lay spread out like a map, with the lake beyond. Close at hand, to the south-west, is the deep, precipitous *Wady Amûd*, with many caves, some partly artificial, while about four miles due south were the towering cliffs of the *Wady Hamâm*. Between these two gorges with their limestone cliffs there is a black outcrop of volcanic rock, through which the stream in *Wady Rûbûdîyeh* has cut its way lakewards. To the south-west of the *Wady Hamâm* cliffs the famous Horns of Ḥattîn are visible, the highest summit, if not the source, of an independent outflow of lava. This spreads itself northwards to form the flat valley bottom on which the fertile lands of *Ḥattîn* are situated, but does *not* reach the north side of the upper reaches of the *Wady Hamâm*, while eastwards and southwards it has flowed towards Tiberias and down the *Sahel el-Alma*.

As we proceeded north we noticed the large village of *Mughar* (inhabited by Druzes and Christians) on a hill some six miles to the west, while to the north-west the bold height of *Jebal Zabûd*, the further side of the *Wady Tawâhîn* (as the upper part of the *Wady Amûd* is called). After an hour the road traverses a belt of scattered trees—the survival of a considerable oak forest, which here ran for some miles each side of the gorge of the *Wady Amûd*. We crossed a ridge, and at 9.15 made a steep and rocky descent into an open valley, the fertile upper reaches of the *Wady Bakr*. Here some mongrel *Bedawîn* of the *Mauwâsy* tribe are frequently camped, and there are a few huts for the storage of their *tibn*, etc. The ordinary track is across a stony path to the north-west, but we took an easier road by going more directly down the wady and then turning sharp to the right to join the first-named. The route now crossed an exceedingly rough and rocky ridge and descended into the *Wady Akbara*, just south of the cliffs of Akbara. We crossed the wady close to a spring—*'Ain Sâleh*—from which a small stream keeps a number of willows green. Close to the road are a few small hovels. We now (11 a.m.) proceeded up the hill on the right side of the valley with the cliffs of *Akbara* towering above us on the left (*i.e.*, the east). This extraordinary limestone cliff, with its caves, is a landmark for many miles around. It appears to have been fortified by Josephus, who refers to it as the "rock of Achabari" (*Wars*, II, 20, 6). A little higher up the valley is the village of *'Akbara*, above which the wady bends somewhat to the east of north, and is for a mile or more full of fertile gardens irrigated by the copious spring *'Ain el-Hamra*. At this part the valley is known as *Wady el-Hamra*, and it is the natural road to Ṣafed, but on account of the cultivation in the valley-bottom the path between *Akbara* and *'Ain el-Hamra el-Tahta* has to traverse the hill-side high above the gardens, and it is an impossible route for baggage animals. The section of the *Wady el-Hamra* between the above-mentioned spring and Ṣafed forms the natural approach to the town from the south-east, *i.e.*, *Tell Hûm*.

Our path—the Tiberias high-road—proceeded almost due north and then round the shoulder of the *Jebal el-Labâny*. After passing this, part of Ṣafed becomes visible, as well as the great panorama to the west and north-west, including the striking range of the *Jebal Jermak*. Our route took us through a squalid Moslem suburb and then through the Christian quarter, past the southern end of the Castle to our destination, which we reached soon after noon. (Bar. 27·5.) Time, 6 hours.

Monday, 6th January.—With Yusif I set off in the morning to examine the caves in the cliff of *'Akbara*, which had attracted my attention on the journey up. The village of 'Akbara stands on the east side of a valley that fissures the Ṣafed mountain in a southerly direction; just below the village the valley is deflected westward, and the cliff rises on the southern side of this lower section. We approached from the west side of the valley, and noticed a pile of débris, covered with Roman pottery, immediately over against the village. Descending from this point into the valley, in order to reach the village, we passed a remarkable modern hut. An enormous boulder projecting from the hill-side was utilised as a roof; a wall built underneath it enclosed the space sheltered by the boulder, and the house was complete. It reminded me forcibly of the groups of ancient rock-shelters I had seen in Ireland on the townland of Glenfahan in the Dingle Peninsula.

My special purpose in visiting the village of 'Akbara itself was to examine the ruin known as *El-Kuneiseh* ("the little church") which stands to the south of the settlement. But I cannot say that I felt much the wiser after having seen it. It is the foundation of a rectangular building of some sort, of which parts of two sides remain. The walls are 4 ft. 1 in. thick, and are built of well-squared stones having a fairly uniform measurement of 2 ft. $7\frac{5}{8}$ in. long, 1 ft. $9\frac{7}{8}$ in. high and 1 ft. $11\frac{1}{2}$ in. thick. In one side a row of twelve such stones remains, in the other fourteen, but this does not represent the full extent of either wall: from the one stones have evidently been taken away, while the end of the other is lost in an impenetrable growth of prickly pear. There is only one course to be seen, except at one point where the top of a lower course appears above ground. The dressing of the stones has been made with a finely toothed comb-pick; but no characteristic stone-dressing, mason's marks, nor potsherds can be seen to enable us to form any idea of the date of the structure.

Close by is a rock-surface with cup-marks, containing olive-stones,

which shows for what purpose they are used by the inhabitants of 'Akbara. In one of the cup-marks is lying a small stone roller, evidently used for crushing the fruit.

The cliff of 'Akbara is no doubt the *Rock of Achabari*, which Josephus (*B.J.*, II, xx, 6) claims to have fortified along with a number of other places. It is an imposing precipice, the face of which is scooped by caves, that give it the appearance of a colossal dovecote. To these caves narrow shelves, by which the sheer fall of the cliff is broken, give access. Yusif had heard from someone in the town that one of these caves contained a well or cistern covered with cement, and that when a Christian power should take Jerusalem the treasures of the Ḥaram are there to be concealed. Is there in this story some distorted recollection of the flight of the Jews, and their ultimate settlement in Galilee, after the destruction of Jerusalem? I make bold to say that there is actually no such cave at 'Akbara: I think Yusif and I exhausted all the hollows to be seen, and we found every one of them to be merely apse-shaped recesses in the rock-face, none extending more than two or three mètres at the most. I need hardly say that I could find no traces of Josephus's fortifications, which probably were temporary structures of wood or earth. At the eastern end of the cliff are the ruins of a small settlement; its potsherds show it to be modern Arab. These rock-hollows are occasionally occupied by people who lie in wait there to shoot birds (or perhaps for even less legitimate game); and smoke-blackening on the cave walls and scraps of potsherd on the shelves outside are evidences of this practice. I picked up one fragment of pottery, unfortunately not absolutely distinctive, but certainly more like pre-Israelite ware than anything else. If this scrap actually have such an antiquity it shows that the temporary use of the 'Akbara caves as lairs for "sportsmen" or for robbers is no modern custom.

Returning in the afternoon to Ṣafed I learnt that there was great excitement among the Jewish population of the city. As is well known, Ṣafed was devastated by a terrible earthquake that took place 1st January, 1837; the loss of life at the time has been estimated at 5,000. Earthquakes are caused (according to local belief) by the turning of a monster who, Atlas-like, supports the earth—others say by the ox which balances the world on the tip of his horn throwing it to the other horn, to relieve his tensioned muscles. In either case, they occur every seventy years, so that it

was believed that a repetition of the great disaster was now due. A certain local rabbi named Simon (who had probably been worrying over the matter during his waking hours) saw in the visions of the night his grandfather, a rabbi of great fame in his time, who bade him "leave the city with his brethren"—and the news of this dream had become known, and was creating something like a panic in the community.

Tuesday, 7th January.—Dr. Masterman and I, with Yusif, left in the morning for a walk to Meirôn, where is a fine synagogue. We went down the valley that runs north of Ṣafed, and then turning northward followed the road as far as Bir esh-Shîh. From this a path turned off on the left which we followed, passing a ruined *wely*, or saint's tomb, adorned with rags. We turned aside to examine *Khurbet Keyûmeh*, the remains of a village strewn with potsherds, some Roman, some early Arab: one fragment that I picked up with traces of green enamel on it adorned with brown lines might conceivably be a late Egyptian importation. Yusif found a worn Cufic copper coin. There seemed no interesting buildings of any sort in the ruin, and nothing beside potsherds to be picked up, so we left and took our way (noticing as we passed two large circular hollows on the left-hand side of the road, apparently dug out as receptacles for rain-water) towards Meirôn, along a road rapidly increasing in roughness and rockiness. The site of Meirôn is plentifully strewn with Roman potsherds as well as some fragments of glass; I noticed nothing older.

The first spot to which we turned our attention was the curious row of rock-cuttings, which had previously been noted by Robinson. This is a series of recesses cut in the open face of the rock: four survive intact, but there have been others which have been almost completely quarried and weathered away.

From these interesting tombs we ascended to the synagogue, which has been partially excavated by the German *Orient-Gesellschaft*. To that society therefore must be left the task of describing it. The façade is in the same condition now as it was when the *P.E.F.* photograph (reproduced in *S.W.P. Memoirs*, Vol. I, facing p. 252) was made, save that only two stones of the cavetto above the central door now remain.

Meirôn is the site of the traditional burial-place of Rabbi Hillel and other worthies of Judaism, so that it seemed a natural place of refuge from the expected earthquake. On our way thither, and

again on our return journey, we passed family groups of fugitives riding or walking to this sanctuary. We found men busily engaged in erecting shelters for themselves and their households till the danger should be over.

Having a little time to spare we climbed the steep hill to the south of Meirôn on the top of which is the ruin known as Khurbet Shem'a. The remains here proved of such especial interest that I determined to return with Yusif the following day to examine them as carefully as they seemed to deserve.

As the day was now declining we retraced our steps to Ṣafed. In the valley at the hill-foot and on the slopes of the hill we passed forlorn groups of panic-stricken people, afraid to sleep in their houses for fear of the earthquake. The excitement by this time had spread from the Jews to the Muslims and Christians. Dr. Masterman's two servant-maids, who are Greek Catholics, were with the greatest difficulty persuaded to remain in the house for the night. The Caimmacam of Ṣafed gave orders that the people on the hill-sides should return to their houses, but they all rushed out again at the first opportunity.

Some of those responsible for the panic seem to have realised that if no earthquake should come at all they would run the risk of losing no little credit; so an ingenious loophole was devised which Yusif overheard being expounded in the street to a peasant by an aged Jew—namely, that the earthquake was surely coming, and if it came *from east to west* it would destroy the city; but if it came *from north to south* no one would feel anything!

Wednesday, 8th January.—In accordance with the resolve made the previous day I returned with Yusif to Khurbet Shem'a, in order to make a full examination of the remains there to be seen.

First of these must be named the extraordinary megalithic structure known as *Sarîr Nebi Shem'a*, the "Throne (or "Bedstead") of the prophet Shammai." It is illustrated in *S.W.P. Memoirs*, Vol. I, p. 246; but the illustration, though from a photograph, conveys no adequate idea of its great size. A more recent illustration, with description by Prof. Dalman, will be found in the *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, XXIX, p. 195.

The great interest of this extraordinary structure lies in its being, in style at least, a sort of connecting link between a dolmen and a rock-tomb. There is a considerably extended dolmen field stretching northward from this point: and it may seem as though

the erection of this cumbrous and costly monument had been suggested by the contemplation of one of those prehistoric memorials. From a certain resemblance to the so-called Tomb of Hiram at Tyre this is sometimes spoken of as a "Phœnician" tomb. So very definite an appellation is perhaps hardly desirable.

A few paces north-east of the *Sarîr* is a fine olive-press cut in the rock. It has a peculiarity I have not seen elsewhere in cuttings of this class. As a rule they consist of three members—a platform for crushing the fruit; an intermediate vat for receiving the juice and allowing it to stand till impurities had sunk out of it; and a third vat, draining out of the second, for receiving the refined juice. In this example the two vats are both connected by channels with the crushing platform.

The above remains are all situated on the *col* connecting the hill bearing the ruins called *Khurbet Shem'a* with the next hill to the south. These ruins represent a large village, which seems not to have been protected by a wall. The village streets are more easily traceable than is usual in such shapeless heaps of *débris*. The buildings were of better masonry than is usual.

Near the hill-top to the south I noticed what looked like a standing stone, and on asking a shepherd about it, he told me it was the *mashhad nebi Shem'a*, that is to say, the "indicator of the Prophet Shammai"—heaps of stones being often erected as "indicators" or "witnesses" on roadways at points where the shrines of saints come into sight.[1] The object, whatever it was, seemed worth visiting, and I made my way up to it, only to find that it consisted of a row of three extraordinary natural pillars of rock: I forward a photograph I took of one of these. In the side of this example is a hollow, which shows traces (smoke-blackening and candle-grease) indicating that candles, and possibly incense, are burnt therein on occasion.

Returning past Khurbet Shem'a, we visited the spring of good water which supplies Meirôn. There is a capital of a column similar to, but not quite identical with, the capital remaining in the ruin above described.

From there we climbed the Meirôn hillside, in order to visit the tomb of Rabbi Hillel, for which we had had no time on the previous day. There is a good plan with description of this tomb in the

[1] My informant was a Muslim; from a Jewish guide Prof. Dalman (*loc. cit.*) learned a name quite different.

S.W.P. Memoirs, Vol. I, p. 253; but the description (quoted from Renan) is not correct in one point—the statement that the tomb is "without inscriptions." On the middle sarcophagus-lid, on the left-hand side of the vestibule, Yusif's sharp eye detected faint traces of letters, which I read—

ΜΕΙΧΙΜΝΟΥ

with considerable doubt as to the first two letters, and some little uncertainty regarding the third and fourth. I should not wonder if more inscriptions would be found could someone clean off the filth with which all the sarcophagus-lids in the tomb are thickly covered.

The local Jews use this tomb as a sort of *genizah*, and some forlorn fragments of printed books, sodden and festering, are lying about. I searched among this disagreeable heap for manuscripts, but found nothing.

So, well satisfied with the day's work, we returned to Ṣafed. Darkness had already fallen when we reached the neighbourhood of the town. The hill-side was illuminated with the camp fires of fugitives, still afraid to enter their houses for fear of the coming earthquake. We were given to understand that the danger would be passed if the earthquake should fail to take place that night.

Thursday, 9th January.—Dr. Masterman and I rode first to the Saracenic ruin *Khân Jubb Yusif*, the "inn of Joseph's pit." Beside it is the pit, now nearly filled up, into which, in defiance of all topographical possibility, Joseph is said to have been cast. A modern dome, with an Arabic inscription reading "Sacred place: pit of Joseph, on whom be peace!" has recently been erected over the pit. The khân itself is built in an effective alternation of white limestone and black basalt. A plan and description will be found in the *Memoirs*, Vol. I, p. 234.

From the khân we proceeded, by a shocking road, to the shapeless ruins of *Kerâzeh* (Chorazin). Here we found a large number of fragments of carved stone, the *disjecta membra* of the synagogue. This structure still awaits excavation. We found (under a heap of manure) the fine niche figured in the *Memoirs*, Vol. I, p. 401, fig. 1; the stone shown in the lower figure on the same page we did not see. A number of sketches which I made of other stones are reproduced on the accompanying Plate.

Fig. 2 is a restoration of a much-injured capital: two of the volutes and most of the egg in the centre have been broken away. Fig. 3 is a small fragment built into the *wely* known as Sheikh Ramadan. Fig. 4 is a column base. Fig. 5 is the moulding of the western door. Fig. 7 is the lintel moulding of the central south door, which had a span of 6 ft. $8\frac{3}{4}$ in. Fig. 6 is the lintel moulding of a side south door, with a span of 4 ft. 9 in. Fig. 9 is probably a fragment of an ornamented stylobate: three sides (and presumably the fourth, which is hidden by lying on the ground) are decorated as shown. Fig. 10 is interesting, being the voussoir of an arch. Fig. 11 is a fragment of a palm-leaf capital, like the famous column under the Aksa Mosque. Fig. 12 is remarkable for the representation of a lion—motives drawn from the animal kingdom are common in the Galilean synagogues. Figs. 13, 14, are specimens of diapered columns, several fragments of which lie about. Fig. 14*a* is a projection of the ornament on the shaft of fig. 14.

There are a few families of half-nomadic Arabs settled among the ruins, who offered us *antikas*—a handful of bronze spangles, a half-defaced Cufic coin—and a penny of His Majesty King Edward VII. The proud possessor of the last-named treasure informed us that he had found it five years before; but as the coin was only three years old, we felt some little difficulty in accepting this statement.

A curious mill-stone (?) lying in the middle of an ancient house is added to the plate of carved stones from Kerâzeh (fig. 15). It is drawn to half the scale of the other stones illustrated.

Leaving Kerâzeh we proceeded by way of *Talḥûm* to *Tâbigha*, where in the German Catholic hospice we found shelter for the night.

Friday, 10*th January*.—This day was devoted to the consideration of the problem of *Capernaum*. It had seemed to me that here was an excellent example of a controverted site to which the crucial test of potsherds might be applied with a reasonable hope of success. The result surpassed my expectations. The claims of Talḥûm were triumphantly vindicated.

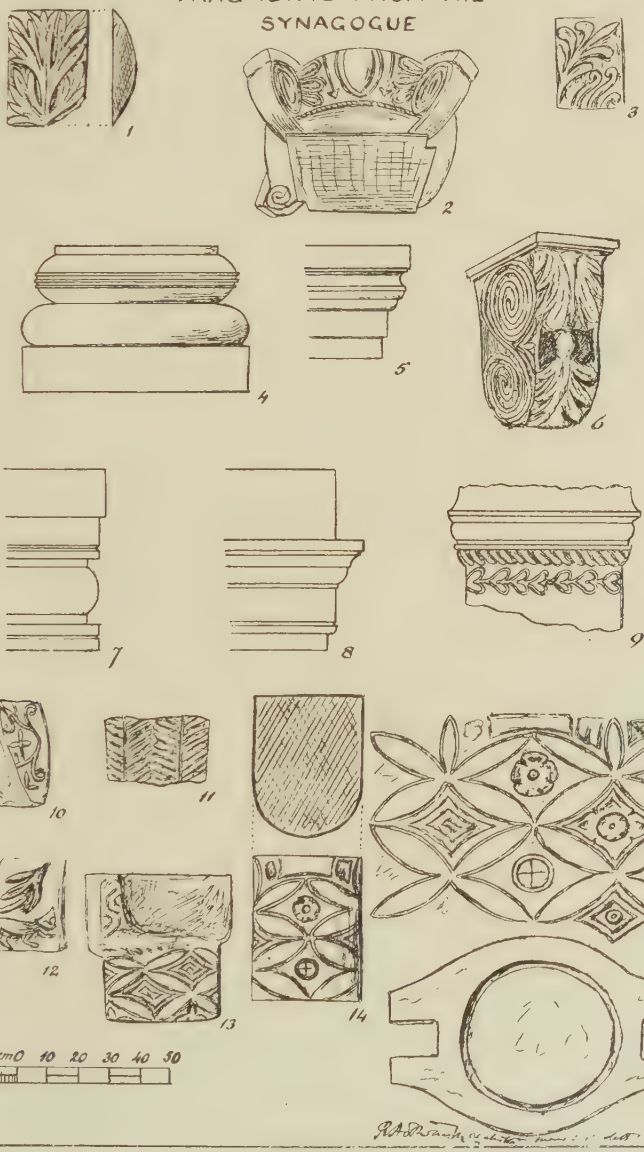
Four sites have been suggested for Capernaum from time to time. These are:—

(1) *ʿAin Medawwerah*, near Mejdel. The arguments for this place are two. Better than any other spring on Gennesaret can it be said to water the plain: and in its water is the coracin fish.

(*To face p.* 116.)

CHORAZIN

FRAGMENTS FROM THE SYNAGOGUE



These are the two characteristics of the "Fountain Capharnaum" mentioned by Josephus (*B.J.*, III, x, 8). The fatal objection to this identification is the total absence of ruins in the neighbourhood.

(2) *Khurbet Minyeh*, for which numerous arguments have been proposed from time to time; but the single fact that every scrap of pottery to be seen on the site is *Arab* entirely negatives them all. An inspection of the site, and a comparison of the level of the ruin with the level of the surrounding plain, is enough to show that the

Fig. 5.—Tell 'Oreimeh, from Khurbet Minyeh.

Arab remains on the surface cover no earlier stratum. *There was, therefore, no settlement here whatever in the time of Capernaum.*

(3) *Tell 'Oreimeh* (fig. 5), a large mound between Minyeh and Tabigha. This mound, when I saw it from a distance, seemed to me as though it might be the real site of the long-lost city—a guess in which I have been forestalled by others. When we climbed up to the hill-top I was astonished to find that *'Oreimeh is the site of a forgotten pre-Israelite city*, and that it had been deserted for ever before the establishment of the Hebrew monarchy. As Minyeh is

too late, 'Oreimeh is too early for its identification with Capernaum to be possible.

There remains the large and important city represented by the ruin called *Talḥûm*, with its elaborate synagogue, recently excavated by the German society. To the many arguments that have been advanced by supporters of this site may now be added the fact that the pottery shows it to have flourished at exactly the period of the glory of Capernaum.

I may be allowed a word in justification for the orthography of the name of the site that I have here adopted, in preference to the usual spelling, *Tell Ḥûm*. It is admitted that Capernaum = *Caphar Nahum*, "the village of Nahum," which is known to reappear in Talmudic writings in the modified form *Caphar Tanhum*. Also *Caphar*, "village," is supposed to have been altered to *Tell*, "mound," when the city fell to a ruin; while "*Ḥûm*" is supposed to be a contraction for *Nahum* or *Tanhum*. I find it difficult to believe that the suggested contraction is possible: nor would any Arabic speaker ever think of applying the word *Tell*, "mound," to this flat, wide-spread ruin, which is essentially *not* a mound. It seems to me more probable that the name is one word, *Talḥum* (تلحوم), not two, *Tell Ḥûm* (تل حوم). These two forms would be indistinguishable in pronunciation; but the first is easily explained as simply a corruption of *Tanhûm*, the *Caphar* being dropped altogether; whereas the second, as we have seen, cannot be explained except by some very doubtful assumptions. The mutation of *n* to *l* is also illustrated by *Berdawîl*, the curious form in which the name of the Crusader king *Baldwin* appears in modern place-names.

If Talḥûm be Capernaum, the "fountain of Capharnaum" described by Josephus (*loc. cit.*) must be the great spring now known as *Birket 'Ali Dhaher*. It is some distance from Talḥum, but this is not a serious objection, so long as Capernaum is the *nearest* large town to the spring. For when a spring has a name involving the element *caphar*, *kefr* ("village"), it must be named from the neighbouring settlement; whereas when a village has in its name the element *'ain* ("spring")—as 'Ain Karim near Jerusalem—it must be named from the water-source. A little thought will show that the connexion between the spring and the settlement must generally be closer in the latter case—the spring being merely in the neighbourhood of the settlement in the one, being the cause of the existence of the settlement in the other. On the shores of the Sea

of Galilee, the problem of water-supply was never pressing, so that it is not necessary to assume that the spring Capharnaum was the source of water for the town of the same name.

The two things that Josephus tells us about the spring is that it contains the coracin fish, and waters the plain of Gennesaret. The existence of the coracin in *Birket 'Ali Dhaher* has been denied, but Father Biever of Tâbigha told us that he has seen the fish within it, and Macgregor (Rob Roy) has made the same observation. I do not attach much weight to arguments from fauna, however, in view

Fig. 6.—Aqueduct, Tell 'Oreimeh.

of the profound modifications that accidental changes of temperature or of chemical substances in the water, earthquakes and other natural catastrophes, human agency, etc., could produce in the course of years. Through the great rock-cut aqueduct that runs round the face of 'Oreimeh (fig. 6 shows a section of it), this spring may be said to have watered the plain quite as much as any other source. That this is a true aqueduct, not a road as some have supposed, is proved (1) by the traces of cement lining it shows here and there, (2) by the needlessness of a road round the southern end

of 'Oreimeh, as there is an excellent road north of it, and (3) by the existence of a branch, which does not appear to have been noticed before, evidently intended to work a mill, traces of which remain.

I may mention that at Talḥûm, beside the synagogue (which as before must be left to its excavators to describe) I noticed a sign of civilisation in the shape of a built drain running through the ruined town.

Saturday, 11*th January*.—The weather, till now propitious, broke this day, and I was kept indoors by incessant rain.

Sunday, 12*th January*.—We learned to-day that we had been the innocent cause of a recrudescence of the earthquake scare, by our excursion to Tâbigha. It was rumoured throughout the town that the English doctor had "from the taste of the water" discovered that the catastrophe was imminent, and had fled with his guest—leaving, it would appear, his family to their fate! All manner of stories were current as to what we had seen at Tâbigha—a star had fallen into the Sea of Galilee and turned its waters red and undrinkable, and so forth. In the evening an emissary from the Jewish colony of *Ja'ûneh*, east of Ṣafed, arrived to enquire into the truth of these rumours, and to obtain the latest information as to earthquake prospects.

Monday, 13*th January*.—In the morning the weather was still inclement, but I went out in the morning with Yusif and took a walk round the town itself, and made a few miscellaneous observations.

The Muslim houses are almost all protected by the hand sign, conventionally represented, boldly painted in blue over the doorways or at the sides. There are a number of old capitals and bases hollowed through and used as well-heads in the streets of the town; most of the former are common Attic bases and are of little interest.

On a sheikh's tomb, in the middle of one of the streets, we found a trace of the Crusaders in the shape of a fragment, about 15 cm. high, inscribed in Lombardic letters. This fragment afterwards had a sad fate. While I was copying it a man came up and asked Yusif what it signified. Yusif unfortunately said he could not read it, as it was Latin. Two or three days afterwards, happening to pass the same tomb, we found that the stone had disappeared: no doubt our interrogator, or some other loafer who had heard the question and answer, had removed it, to prevent the

holiness of the sheikh from being further profaned by this infidel stone. There are a number of uninteresting fragments of modern Arabic inscriptions, broken from a neighbouring water-tower, also lying on the tomb.

In the afternoon Dr. Masterman and I visited the remains at *Nebratein*, where is the foundation of a small synagogue, partly excavated by the Orient-Gesellschaft. The settlement dates from Ptolemaic to Arab times. I made a not very successful attempt to copy the enigmatical Hebrew inscription carved on the fallen lintel of the synagogue. On the hill above is *en-Nebrah*, a smaller settlement of the same date. There are here to be seen a number of column-drums and bases. I suspect that these are the relics of another synagogue, though the German excavators have searched for one without success. We noticed traces which resembled the foundation of a rectangular building about 40 feet broad, with a single column base appearing above ground in one corner.

Tuesday, 14*th January*.—The weather was hopelessly bad all day.

Wednesday, 15*th January*.—The weather continued bad, but I was able to visit Jami'a el-Aḥmar, the oldest mosque in the town. It has a Saracenic doorway, having a partially defaced Arabic inscription over it. Inside there is nothing of antiquity to see but two Byzantine capitals of simple Corinthian pattern. There is a plain octagonal capital, of large size, used as a well-head outside the mosque. Into the wall of the neighbouring shrine of the *Banât Ḥâmid* there is a pretty bit of Byzantine scroll-work built. Returning we came over the castle hill, and I noted the following corrections to the plan in *S.W.P. Memoirs*, Vol. I, p. 249 :—

(1) To the wall of the outer bailey add circular external towers, corresponding exactly in position with the similar towers, which are correctly represented in the plan to the inner bailey wall.

(2) Add a cistern in the middle of the extreme south end of the mound that represents the keep.

(3) Add another cistern in the middle of the keep.

(4) Delete the small square block of masonry at the north-east of the inner bailey, which, whatever it was, has disappeared.

There is an old cannon lying in the outer bailey at the south-east. We picked up a small silver coin of Sultan Selim, and a small fragment of a damascened scabbard in the ruins.

Thursday, 16*th*, *and Friday*, 17*th January*.—The storm continued and made outdoor work impossible.

Saturday, 18*th January*.—Taking advantage of a break in the storm, I paid, with Yusif, a hurried second visit to *Nebratein*, in order to try to improve on my copy of the inscription. The break proved deceptive, for torrents of rain began to fall while we were on the way; at last, however, it held off long enough to enable us to take two squeezes, necessarily imperfect, as the dampness and cloudiness of the atmosphere prevented their drying properly. They supplement each other, however; and with their aid and the help of a pencil rubbing, and the copy made earlier in the week, I am able to present the following as a facsimile of this perplexing legend (fig. 7).

I cannot claim to do more than afford materials for someone more expert than I in late Semitic epigraphy to work upon. The extraordinary farrago of Hebrew letters, contractions, and signs seemingly quite arbitrary, is to me altogether unintelligible.

Sunday, 19*th January*.—On this day took place the funeral of the late Herr Josef Miklasiewicz, Consular Agent in Ṣafed for Great Britain and for Austria, who had died on the previous day in the eighty-fourth year of his age. The funeral service was conducted in the private chapel of the residence where he had lived for fifty-one years. He was an enthusiastic student of oriental manners and customs. Through the kindness of his son and successor, Herr Ladislaus Miklasiewicz, I have been permitted to refer to, and extract a few notes from some of his private diaries, which incidentally contain very valuable observations on the native life he saw around him. Such careful and conscientious note-takers are rare, and the loss of any of them deserves to be recorded by a Society like ours with deep regret.

Monday, 20*th January*.—Renewed rain all day.

Tuesday, 21*st January*.—The rain still continuing, I went with Yusif to examine the one rock-cut tomb known to exist in the neighbourhood of Ṣafed. It is entered by an insignificant hole in the ground, just outside the boundary of the *Hâret el-Kurâd*. It is of very curious design, being divided up by colonnades into chambers: I have never seen another cave of similar type. Yusif heard it called *Mughâret 'Anl'ârîs*, whatever that may mean, but there is another and more intelligible name, *Mughâret el-Kufâr*, "the cave of the infidels." This latter name is due to the fact that when first discovered it was found to be quite full of human bones. These are explained as being the bones of the Crusader

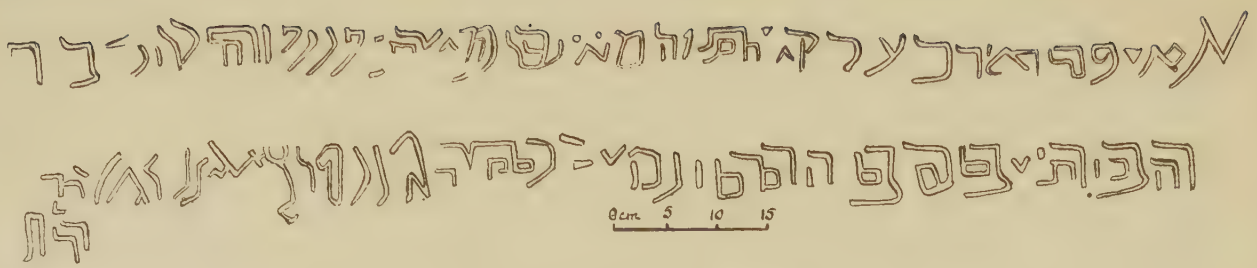


FIG. 7.—Inscription at Nebratein.

(The original is in one line, divided into two sections by a representation of the seven-branched candlestick. It is here divided into two lines for convenience.)

garrison of the castle, who were slaughtered and whose bodies were here cast. Large quantities of these bones have disappeared, but a fair number are left; and from measurements I made of them,[1] it seemed to me highly probable that the local tradition which accounts for them is for once correct. The indicated stature is rather superior to the average stature of the inhabitants of the country. I am indebted to Dr. Masterman for verifying my guesses that some pathological peculiarities I noticed in turning over the bones were due to rheumatoid arthritis or to syphilitic affections. Some of the skulls showed caries of some form, and one had an injury, evidently the effect of a blow on the temple, which had probably been the cause of death.

Wednesday, 22nd January.—At last, the long-continued rain-storm came to an end, and the morning broke fine and frosty. Dr. Masterman and I set off together on the road we had previously taken to Meirôn, which we followed as far as Bir esh-Shîh. We then took the road to Sufsâf. On the way we passed an old track, crossing ours at right angles, leading apparently from Khurbet Keyumeh to Kadîtha. This road is not marked on the inch map. Continuing further, we passed a dolmen, consisting of three stones on end supporting a cover-slab; the cover-slab measures about $7\frac{3}{4}$ by $8\frac{1}{2}$ by 1 foot. Close by is a second dolmen, which has fallen into ruin.

At Sufsâf we saw the fragments of carved stone built into the modern mosque. These are exactly as they are represented in *S.W.P. Memoirs*, vol. I, plate facing p. 257, save that the left-hand of the two moulded voussoirs at the side has disappeared in some repair of the structure.

From Sufsâf we proceeded through a cold, biting wind to El-Jish. The description of this place in the *S.W.P. Memoirs*, Vol. I, p. 224, needs some supplementing.

First, there seems no special reason to believe in the existence of the *synagogue in the town* at all: the only ground for asserting it seems to be the presence of fragments of columns, capitals, bases, stylobates, lintels, etc., lying about or utilised as building material in the modern houses. These might, however, belong to any sort of building, and need not be assumed to have formed part of a synagogue.

[1] Particulars regarding these bones will be published later; to insert them here would swell unduly this already lengthy paper.

Secondly, there are the foundations of *one* synagogue outside the town, in a valley *to the east*. It is by no means obvious why this should have been erected so far from the city: there is a little Roman pottery in the fields about, but no trace of any extensive occupation immediately round the site. Excavations have been made in this synagogue by the Orient-Gesellschaft. When we came up to it we found a native measuring one of the stones of the ruin. He evidently mistook me for a member of the German excavating party, for he came to me to ask if I would allow him to take "only one very little stone" to fill a gap in his house. I took it upon me to say that I could not allow anything of the sort under any circumstances—but, of course, whatever little respite I may

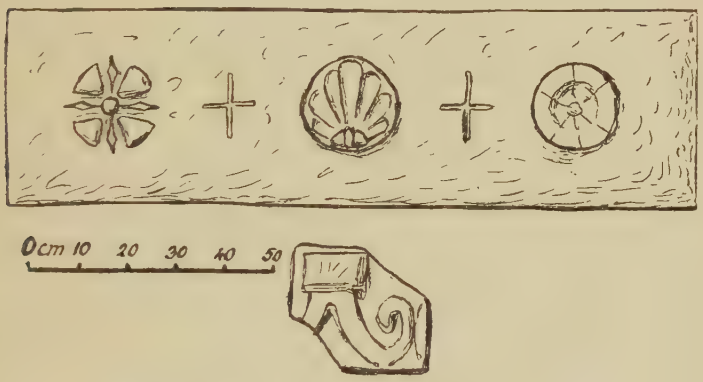


FIG. 8.—Lintel and fragment of sculpture, El-Jish.

have thereby gained for this interesting structure can only be temporary.

As before, the task of describing the building must be left in courtesy to the excavators, but I may be allowed a word or two on the inscription carved on a fallen column drum, as there are several misunderstandings about it in the *Memoirs*. There is a worthless copy (Vol. I, p. 225) given with the remark that it was "probably written by some Jew who came to lament over the noble buildings of his ancestors." A few lines further down Renan's description is quoted. He unaccountably places the synagogue *north* of the town, and then gives a translation of the inscription ("Joseph Ben Nahum built this arch. May a blessing fall upon him!"), after which is the comment, "The column and inscription have now apparently disap-

peared." They are, however, still intact, and I forward a rubbing. It is not necessary to reproduce it here, as the inscription has already been accurately rendered by Renan in the *Mission de Phénicie*.

In the town itself, we were fortunate in getting the guidance of an intelligent young man employed as schoolmaster for the Maronite inhabitants, who showed us everything to be seen in the town. The most interesting stone is the lintel (fig. 8), now over the door of the Maronite Church.[1] The smaller stone in the same figure is built into the wall of a conventual building attached to the Greek church. This convent fell into ruins in a heavy rain a few years ago. In the Maronite Church the confessional box is decorated with three skulls placed on top.

An essay might be written on a comparative study of styles of house surface decoration in various parts of Palestine. In Ṣafed several house-doors are ornamented by a kind of scale-pattern in open fretwork, applied to the surface of the door. In Sufsâf I noticed several doors decorated with a *semée* of hemispherical depressions, as though produced by blows of a round-ended hammer. The inhabitants of el-Jish are fond of sculpturing on the lintels of doorways ornaments consisting of hexagons in circles and similar geometrical devices, also (in the Christian quarter) quaint figures of animals. Over an opening in a house near the Greek church there is a lintel of four stones forming a flat arch, the face of which is divided by little pillars, between which are rude figures of animals —an elephant, an ostrich, and two unrecognizable.

Several houses in el-Jish have a little circular mirror let into the stone above the doorway. In a ruined house I found specimens of an effective form of mural decoration, consisting of an arrangement of mud ropes applied to the wall, forming spaces filled by a criss-cross of reeds, the whole being then washed thickly over with lime cream.

South of the city there is a fine sarcophagus, now much broken, resembling, but not identical with, that shown in the *S.W.P. Memoirs*, Vol. I, p. 224. Near this is lying a stone measuring 6 ft. 10 in. × 4 ft. 7 in. × 3 ft. 9¾ in., having a double grave cut in it, close to which are two similar stones almost buried in the ground. The whole looks like the *disjecta membra* of a structure like the *sarîr* at Khurbet Shem'a, above described.

[1] The crosses are, of course, later additions.

Returning to Ṣafed we took the more direct road avoiding Sufsâf, and passing on the way the *Birket el-Jish*. This great reservoir is said in the *Memoirs* (Vol. I, p. 217) to contain water all the year: and the statement is repeated by a writer in Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, s.v. "Lake." I found, however, by several enquiries, that it dries regularly during summer.

Thursday, 23rd January.—This day was devoted to a visit to *Kefr Bi'rim*, where there were two synagogues. One of these has been cleared by the Orient-Gesellschaft. I made an effort to copy the Hebrew inscription over one of the windows: I regret that I had not Renan's transcript by me at the time. What I made of it was this meaningless succession of letters—

סעיו[ע]כבבוצבריודן

The inscription is too faint to see clearly, especially at the beginning. The second synagogue has totally disappeared; the magnificent gateway (*Memoirs*, Vol. I, plate facing p. 232) was destroyed within the last few years for building material by a local stonemason.

Friday, 24th January.—The morning was devoted to preparation for departure from Ṣafed. In the afternoon we walked to Jebel Kina'an, from which a fine view is to be obtained of the Bahr el-Ḥuleh and the Sea of Tiberias, with the section of the Jordan between them. Returning round the head of valley north of Ṣafed, we noticed a hole in a section of the cliff, to which we climbed. It proved to be the opening to a water-conduit cut in the rock, which had been broken into by quarrying. There is no special reason to suppose it an aqueduct of very ancient date: it may have been part of the work done by Dhaher el 'Amer in Ṣafed.

Saturday, 25th January.—Left Ṣafed about 9 a.m. and proceeded to *Hattin*, which (owing to some annoying delays on the way) I did not succeed in reaching till nearly 3 in the afternoon. The time did not permit for the deflection to *Irbûd* which I had promised myself. From Hattin proceeded to the carriage-road, as yet unfinished, from Nazareth to Tiberias, joining it at *Khurbeh Meskeneh*, an extensive Roman and Byzantine site. There are many caves and rock-tombs here, as well as foundations of houses. There is also a large reservoir, just by the road-side, which is used as a robbers' lair at night-time.

On the way Yusif entertained me with gossip he had heard in Ṣafed respecting the father of our muleteer, who, it seems, had

been a noted robber in his day. The following is a specimen of these tales of oriental rascality:—Many years ago, a great "lord," apparently English, came to Ṣafed, and arranged with the Caimmacam of the period to have his camp guarded by a force of twenty (price, 1 mejidi or 20 piastres each). The hero of the tale tried to be engaged, but failed. So, coming by night to a hiding-place, he stripped off his clothes, tied something which would simulate a tail to himself, and stole up to the camp on hands and knees. The watchmen thought it was a large dog, and endeavoured to scare it off by the cry *wisht*, which, as we have recently been told in the *Quarterly Statement*, is the expression used for the purpose. The "dog" came up, stealing nearer and nearer, now retreating, now advancing, till he seized the opportunity of darting into the tent. Then he seized the "lord's" box, shouldered it and made off through the guards in the darkness. He recovered his clothes and brought his plunder to the castle, broke it open, and found to his disgust nothing in it but garments. He appropriated a small selection of these and hid the remainder in the castle. Next morning there was of course great excitement over the missing box; the Englishman had a stormy interview with the Caimmacam, and departed for Beyrout breathing out threatenings and slaughter. The poor Caimmacam in despair proceeded to arrest everybody he could lay hands on, till the prison was too full to hold anyone else.

Meanwhile, the thief's brother conceived a suspicion that no one else could have committed the robbery except his notorious relative. So he went to the house, where he found him sleeping the sleep of the just. Waking him roughly he seized him by the throat, and demanded to know where was the box. After some parley the thief confessed; the brother went to the castle, found the box, and bore it to the Caimmacam: that functionary immediately sent a number of soldiers to overtake its owner, restore the property, and request him kindly to overlook the inconvenience to which he had been subjected. The thief's brother was one of the escort sent with the box.

And so the box was restored, and the owner opened it, and slipped out the inner lining, revealing to the astonished and envious eyes of the escort "more gold pieces than there were in all Ṣafed" in the false bottom. So the brother returned, and said to the thief, "Fool that you are, next time you steal a box, *break it in pieces!*"

Reached Nazareth about 7.30 p.m.

Monday, 27th January.—Rode from Nazareth to Jenîn by the uninteresting muleteer route across the Plain of Esdraelon. Arriving at Jenîn (where, as at Nâblus, the Hamburg-America Company have recently established a hotel) two hours before sunset, I devoted the time to an examination of the ruins of *Bel'âmeh*, about half a mile to the south. I was surprised to find them of considerable importance; they are hardly mentioned in the *Memoirs*, an extract from Guérin alone being given. The following observations will therefore be useful:—

Bel'âmeh (Ibleam) is an enormous *tell*, about the size of the mound of Gezer, though being approximately circular instead of long and narrow it is difficult to compare their areas by an eye estimation. There is no very distinct evidence of the depth of accumulation, which must, however, be considerable. The ground is here and there pitted by conical depressions which possibly mark the positions of cisterns. There is one cave, now blocked, on the hill-top: a circular shaft (in addition to the entrance) is cut in the roof of the chamber, and there is a cup-mark at the mouth.

A large area of the hill is occupied by an extensive keep, now completely ruined all save one corner; this building is apparently of Crusader date. There is also a modern *wely* or saint's tomb. At its entrance is lying the fragment of an Attic base. I did not find the tunnel described by Guérin.

The city has been inhabited continuously from the Amorites to the Early Arabs, and potsherds of every period are strewn over the ground. Besides these I found some fragments of stone bowls (such as are common in Palestine about 1000 B.C.), one small fragment of a Cypriote vessel, and some flints. I also picked up a Rhodian jar-handle, inscribed:—

ΕΠΙΑΙΣ
ΧΥΛΙΝΟΥ

Tuesday, 28th January.—From Jenîn to Nâblus by the ordinary muleteer route *viâ* Jeba' and Beit Imrin. The first settlement passed on the road is the important village of *Ḳubâtiyeh*. There is a little Roman pottery on the plain below. A peculiarity of this village is the great heaps of firewood before each of the houses. This is said to be due to a local custom, prevalent only in this and the immediately neighbouring villages, whereby the girls of a family devote their spare time to collecting firewood and storing it up till

they marry, when they have it by them to use in their new homes. There is a well-cut olive-press in the rock on the hill-top.

The short road from Jeba‘ to Nâblus is bad, wearisome, and monotonous, and it is well worth while following the longer route by Sebasteh.

At Nâblus, Herr Hesselschwert of the hotel showed me, among a number of antiquities he had acquired, a curious vessel in bronze and a haematite seal-cylinder, the latter from Beisân is here illustrated (fig. 9).

Fig. 9.—Cylinder-seal from Beisân.

Wednesday, 29th January.—Of the well-beaten path between Nâblus and Jerusalem, the transit of which occupied this day, there is nothing new to say. I reached Jerusalem about 5 p.m., just in time to escape a furious torrent of rain.

THE BEDOUIN OF THE SINAITIC PENINSULA.

(*Continued from p.* 33.)

By W. E. Jennings-Bramley, Esq.

XVIII. *Food.*

The hospitality of the Bedouin is proverbial. The guest is made welcome; it being even a woman's duty to entertain in her husband's absence and press the guests to accept the hospitality she has to offer. In an encampment, the different owners of tents vie with each other who shall entertain the stranger, who has sometimes to assist at lengthy and heated discussions before the question is decided as to who shall have the honour of receiving him. Generosity with them is the first of virtues and ranks even higher than courage. To be hospitable is the first of duties, and if it fall to a poor man of the tribe to receive a guest, and he have neither kid, sheep, or young camel to kill for his entertainment, he may take one of his neighbour's for the purpose, it being understood that he will repay it when he can. His neighbour could not refuse him the loan, as it would be to the discredit of the whole tribe were any member of it not able to do the necessary honour. On these occasions more meat than usual is consumed, and the Arab has wonderful powers when the occasion offers itself. They simply gorge till nothing is left; a man's portion being never less than from 2 to 3 lbs. One old Bedouin, in the agonies of a bad attack of indigestion, repelled my advice to be more moderate in future, with the assurance that he preferred indigestion to moderation!

In a general way most eat meat once a week if they can possibly afford it, and those who live near the hills need not depend on their flocks for this, as they can hunt the ibex. My man Suleiman has one son whose whole business is ibex hunting for his father's tent.

All kinds of meat are generally boiled, the whole of the fat of the animal being put into the pot as well. The entrails, the liver and heart are usually sent on before, to the *menzil*, to be eaten

while the rest is still cooking, these odds and ends requiring less time, and being prepared simply enough, viz., by being thrown on to the hot cinders and allowed to burn for a few minutes. The children who collect in numbers round the *mensif*, when a feast is going on, are thrown most of these bits which are not considered as forming part of the real meal, but take the place of *hors d'œuvres*. The whole of the inside of the sheep, such parts as are quite uneatable, are thrown on to the fire with the idea that they impart a pleasant flavour to the meat which is in course of being cooked above them. No words can describe the stench that rises from them, but the appetite of a Bedouin gastronomist is not affected by such trifles, if indeed he notices it at all. Round bread, thin as a pancake, is served with the meat and is also dipped in the boiled fat, and handed round by itself, as an extra delicacy to the most honoured of those present. In the Sinai Peninsula it is the custom to cut the meat up into as many portions as men present, and hand a helping to each; but on the other side of the 'Arabah, all the tribes, beginning with the Huitat and eastward, serve the sheep up whole on a bed of boiled rice, in a large wooden dish they call a *battia*.

The guests sitting round help themselves by tearing bits off the carcase, which in an incredible time is nothing but a skeleton, the rice having taken the place of bread.

The method of eating rice is this. A handful is taken and slowly pressed in the palm with the closed fingers, until it acquires the form and about the consistency of a croquette, and then, and not till then, is it put into the mouth.

At the time when the goat or sheep is being killed for the proposed feast, some of its blood is collected in a bowl, and with it, by means of a sort of brush made with twigs of *retem*, the camel of the guest, in whose honour the feast is given, is marked. Each tribe has its special mark for this ceremony, and it is not the same as the *wasm*. Should the traveller on the succeeding night, or nights, be the guest of other members of the same tribe, it would be a disgrace to them did they not renew the mark by passing fresh blood over it; a custom fraught with unpleasantness in a land of flies.

On one occasion I had sent on my camels to water with a slave belonging to my man Suleiman, whilst I remained behind with him. At the well the slave met his master's son, who killed a sheep in

honour of the patron saint of the place—a saintly sheikh—and marked my camels with the blood of a sheep he killed to propitiate the saint. Though killed in honour of the saint, his votaries ate the sheep.

The feast is preceded by a drink of camel's milk offered to the stranger by the camel owners. As an Arab can drink about four pints at a time, it is not so trifling a gift as it might seem. I have often been laughed at for my lack of powers, two full glasses being the very most I could swallow at a time. Milk is the staple food of the Bedouin while under the tents, or during the *rûbia'*. A dish of butter and butter-milk mixed is often brought with or without bread. They rarely drink fresh milk, but milk straight into skins kept for the purpose, which are lined, from constant use, with a coating in appearance and probably in taste very like cream cheese. Before offering you milk, they almost always shake it up in these skins, a process which imparts a peculiar flavour to it. It is a curious fact that the milk of goats, who have been fed on *retem*, has a peculiar effect on many people. After drinking it, their heads swim and they have to sleep off the effect. I have even seen a negro whose symptoms were those of slight intoxication. The goats themselves which come from Arabia, and feed on this bush for the first time, often die, and are nearly always made ill by it, until they gradually become accustomed.

Besides milk in different forms the Arabs eat what they call *ḳalia*, which is simply corn roasted either on a griddle or by being thrown on a pot full of hot cinders. Something more in the nature of a dish is made with half-baked bread taken while still hot and re-kneaded with water until it becomes paste again, and on this *semen* (clarified butter) is poured and stirred up with it. Another of their dishes consists simply of onions fried in oil, the onion being sometimes boiled before it is fried. While speaking of their different uses of milk, I should mention a sort of cheese which is made by milking into cans and taking nothing but the froth, which is churned until it solidifies. This the camel-herds use as a substitute for bread during the grass season. In camp all meat, whatever it may be, is boiled, but in the desert the Arabs have another way of cooking whatever animal they may succeed in shooting or catching—such as hare, gazelle, or ibex. The animal is cut open—not skinned—and well cleaned. A trench is dug out and lined with large stones, and on these a wood fire is made and

allowed to burn down until nothing but hot charcoal is left. The stones, now hot, are then moved away and the animal laid on the remaining bed of live charcoal, the back with the hair and skin still on it upwards, and on this the hot stones are placed. Then the whole is covered in with earth or sand. In a quarter of an hour it is cooked, the skin comes off quite easily, and the meat is juicy and well done. In baking meat or bread in this way it is important to avoid using the wood of the *tarfa* tamarisk, for the reason that when burnt the wood at once becomes dust, in which those small salt crystals (which catch the moisture by which the plant lives) are unpleasantly perceptible to the taste in any food which has come in contact with them.

Wild figs, water melons, a few dates, and a fruit they call *lassah* are about all that come their way. This last, the *lassah*, is in shape and colour not unlike a fig. Its colour is a bright vermillion and it is full of seeds. It is juicy with a mustard-like taste and has aperient properties.

The *buttûm* female tree, for there are male and female trees, bears a fruit, or rather berry, but it is not much eaten. It is red and hangs in grape-like clusters, and the berry has no marked taste but is unpleasantly astringent to the mouth. It is used in some parts for tanning the water-skins. The leaves, however, are a very favourite food of goats. The interest that attaches to these trees arises from the fact that, according to Bedouin lore, they were planted by the *juhâl*, "the old people," and that it is now impossible, in their opinion, to propagate them either from seed or from cuttings. These trees are to be found in great numbers in one wâdy named after them, the Wâdy Buttûm; and it is the scene of many supernatural apparitions! Two hills that rise side by side in it are haunted, one by a ghostly gamoose, the other by a wolf equally supernatural by reputation, but very normal in habits, to judge by the only authenticated stories I could hear of him. In one instance he killed and ate a girl who had strayed too near his lair. In another, on being fired at by a man, he disappeared. The wolf in question was, however, probably one of the few leopards to be found now and again in the Peninsula, but the legendary fame of the Wolf of the Wâdy has gained ground on the strength of these two incidents.

The trees are under the special care of the Hanatta Arabs of the Heiwat tribe, who allow travellers to pick the leaves, but see

that they neither cut wood for burning, nor otherwise injure them. Tradition says one of the trees has been left as a "guest" tree since the day on which a certain woman, passing by with her goats, wished the leaves might fall to the ground that her flock might eat. Next morning, obedient to her wish, the leaves lay scattered at her feet. This was taken as a sign that in future they were to be considered as *dajf* (guest). A man is once said to have cut down a *luttûm* tree to make charcoal, but its struggles in the fire were such, that he, and all Arabs after him, have taken the warning and have ever since regarded the *luttûm* tree as sacred. The probable reason of the turmoil was the amount of resin in the wood, of which even the clove-like, brittle flowers of the male tree are full.

The Arabs in Sinai do not use camel's milk for anything but drinking, but employ goat's milk for the cheese, butter, and solidified milk which they make. That of mares is too scarce to be taken into account, and the pasturage so poor, that under any circumstances there would only be just enough for the foal. In Arabia, I hear cheese is made of camel's milk. An Arab's superstition is that the milk of a red camel whose mother was red, and whose calf is red, has medicinal properties of the nature of a tonic or pick-me-up.

Among themselves milk is offered as a free gift, and as such accepted. With strangers, although no payment is demanded, there is no objection to receiving it, and it is best given in kind. In their eyes, a courteous way of doing this is to return the bowl in which the milk was offered, full of either rice, coffee, or flour—whichever happens to be at hand.

XIX. *Blood Revenge.*

According to Bedouin ideas, no reparation can be sought for the lives of those who have been killed in fair fight—on a raiding expedition for instance; but any life taken in a private quarrel must be revenged by the relations of the victim. The murderer's family, from the grandfather (should he be living) down to the sixth generation on the *male* line, are held responsible for the life taken, and any member of the dead man's family may kill at sight any one of these, wherever he may chance to meet them. Under these circumstances, the best thing to be done is to get out of

the way; and both families on hearing the news often escape to new ground, generally seeking safety and shelter with some friendly tribe: a Hewi (هيوتي), for instance, with the Terrabin Arabs, a Tekî with the Mâsa. Friends of either families bring the subject up before the Sheikhs either at once, or whenever they think the quarrel has lasted long enough. It is then necessary to compute the fines to be paid, for the original murder, for subsequent ones, and for any wounds given or received on either side. The Sheikhs in council decide this *ṣulḥ* (صلح), "reparation," as it is called, but there is a regular tariff, if I may use the word, to guide them. For a man's life, forty camels and a woman—with the alternative of five more camels in lieu of the woman, an alternative generally chosen as more conducive to a lasting peace. For the life of a woman or child, 160 camels—that is to say, four times the penalty demanded for the life of a man.

It is in the hands of the Sheikhs to modify these conditions according to the circumstances of the case. In computing these fines, one dromedary (*ṣâfi*) is considered to equal five ordinary camels. Considering the consequences to them of the crime, it is only natural that all the relations of the murderer will readily assist him to pay the fine inflicted by the Sheikhs. In the few cases where a woman is included and accepted in reparation, she remains with the family of the murdered man and is married to his nearest relation, with whom she must remain until her son, by this enforced marriage, is old enough to carry his sword; she is then free to return to her own people, but after so long an absence she very rarely cares to leave.

Should the matter not be settled by the paying of *ṣulḥ*, murder and retaliatory murder may go on for generations, but should no further blood have been shed in the meantime, the matter comes to an end with the passing away of the sixth generation, counting from the murderer's grandfather.

In computing the value of a man killed, Bedouins are very logical. It is evident that if one of their leading men, or well-known warriors, is murdered, the loss to the tribe or family is great. The murderer, on the other hand, may be some unknown useless hanger-on, whose death would in no way weaken the fighting strength of his own people. To kill him would give them little satisfaction; they pass him by and do their utmost to

kill one they consider equal in importance to the man they have lost. In the same way, should a woman kill a man, a man of her family or tribe, and not she, is made to pay the penalty of blood.

In some cases, so Sheikh Suleiman el-Awamra told me, the feud may be brought to an end, after one life has been taken in expiation of the original murder, by the avenger, whoever he may be, dipping his handkerchief in the blood of the man he has killed and taking it to the family as a token that there the matter ends—a life having been taken for a life. It rests with the others to accept or refuse the reconciliation.

The great object of all tribes is to keep up their fighting strength on an equality with that of their neighbours, which explains why not only must the penalty to be exacted be estimated by the number, but also by the importance of the men lost on either side.

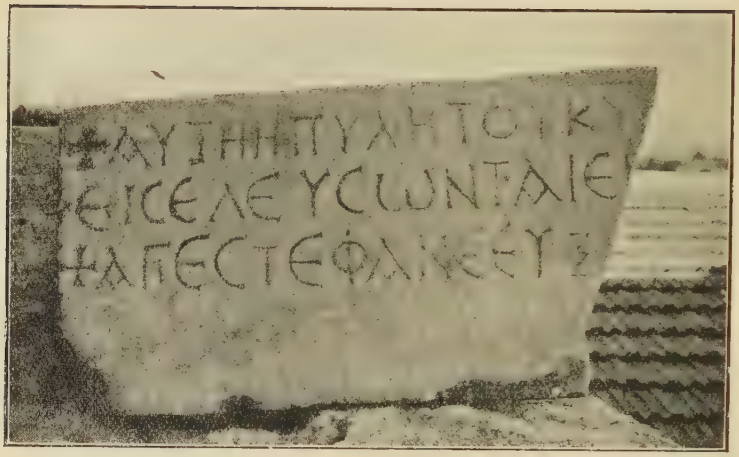
A woman or child could only be killed unintentionally, and the matter would be settled by the payment of a heavy fine. I have only heard of one instance where several were killed by raiders, and that was when they fell upon an encampment at night while the *dahieh* was being danced. The raiders fired indiscriminately into the group, and four or five women were shot. Such things may happen now and then, but they are rare, and Bedouin feeling is strongly against either women or children being touched.

(*To be continued.*)

THE CHURCH OF ST. STEPHEN.

By C. K. Spyridonidis, Jerusalem.

Before we arrive at Gethsemane, just at the place where we learn, by tradition, that Stephen was stoned, there is a field which some years ago was bought by the Rev. Epthimios, the treasurer of the Holy Sepulchre. The Mohammedans say that the blood of the sacrifices offered by the Jews in the temple flowed through this place. The area of it must be about three thousand square metres. Before I commenced constructing I heard from a Mohammedan that this place must be a very interesting one, as there were found



in it many large chiselled stones. Through it passes the general sewer of the city. In levelling this field I found different things, but at present cannot speak about them; it must suffice to refer to two inscriptions found, one on a piece of marble, which says:

✠ ΑΥΤΗ Η ΠΥΛΗ ΤΟΥ ΚΥΡΙΟΥ ΕΙCΕΛΕΥCΩΝΤΑΙ ΕΝ ΑΥΤΗ

✠ ΑΓΙΕ CΤΕΦΑΝΕ ΕΥΞ

The second one was found on another large stone and reads:

✠ ΜΝΗΜΑ ΜΑΡΙΑC ΡΩΜΕΑC

The inscription of the marble has been taken from Ps. cxv, 20. The marble is somewhat broken at the edges, and I think that after the Greek work ΑΥΤΗ comes the word ΔΙΚΑΙΟΙ, and after CΤΕΦΑΝΕ ΕΥΞ, ΑΙ ΥΠΕΡ ΗΜΩΝ. The characters of the first inscription lead us to believe that they were written in the fourth century. Usually the above inscription is found on the door-sills of Greek churches.

The dimensions of the marble are $17\frac{3}{4}$ in. × $9\frac{1}{2}$ in., and of the stone $24\frac{3}{8}$ in. × $37\frac{3}{8}$ in.

Further above where these slabs were lying there was found a well, which is carefully constructed and appears to have been newly plastered, but is nearly filled with earth and stones.

At present we have not fully completed the excavations, so cannot give further information.

The first inscription, according to the Greek orthography, has one mistake which I indicate by a line:

ΕΙCΕΛΕΥCΩ̲ΝΤΑΙ = ΕΙCΕΛΕΥCONTAI

The second one has another one which I also note:

ΡΩΜΕ̲ΑC = ΡΩΜΑΙΑC

The inscriptions seem to be sufficient evidence that this is the exact spot where stood St. Stephen's original church.

GOLGOTHA ON MOUNT ZION.

By the Rev. W. F. Birch, M.A.

(*Continued from Q.S., p.* 76.)

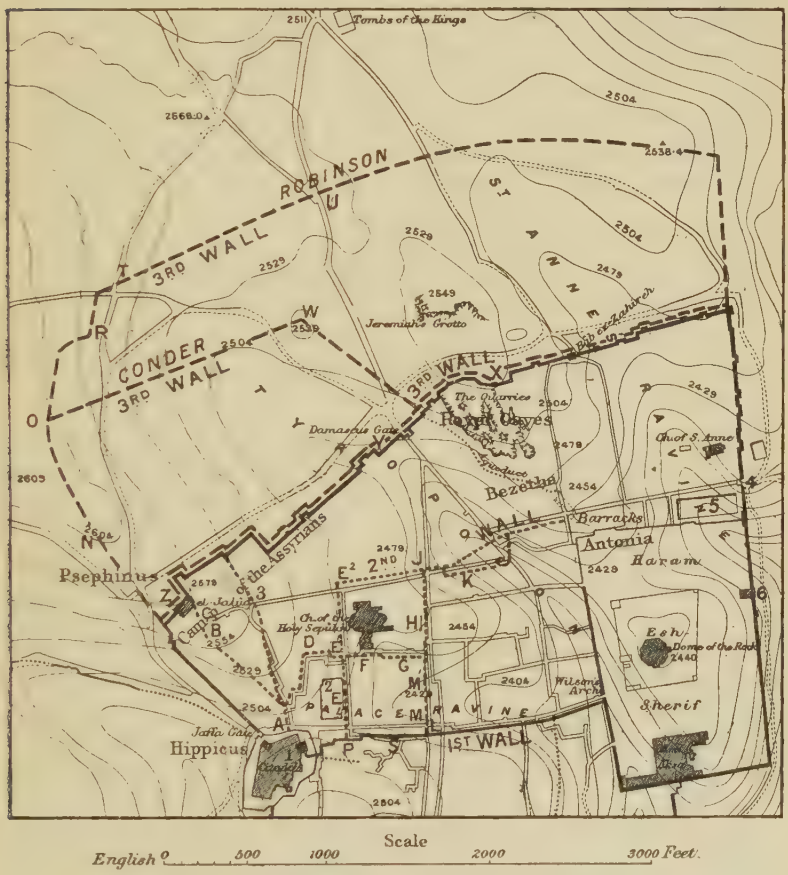
The traditional site of the Holy Sepulchre, in spite of its collapse, deserves some notice for its many religious associations.

The most illustrious of the Latin Fathers favoured the connection of Golgotha with Zion, when on Psalm ii he grouped together *Calvary*, the title on the Cross, *Rex Judæorum*, and the words, "I am appointed *King* by Him *over Sion*." To a Jew, first, however, it was given to gain a glimpse of this connection.

Although both Nehemiah (*Quarterly Statement*, 1885, p. 102) placed the city of David which is Zion (1 Kings viii, 1) on the southern part of the eastern ridge, and also Josephus, in paraphrasing 1 Macc., thrice substituted *the Temple* for Mount Zion, yet the early Christians united in accepting the S.W. hill as Zion. In thus adopting the wrong one of only two possible hills, they evinced astounding ignorance of Jerusalem topography; while Eusebius, with equal recklessness, gave currency to an anonymous fable that impious men covered up on a *western* position a (cave or) tomb which, according to prophecy (*supra*, p. 75), must have been hewn on the *eastern* hill. In place of this episcopal cock-and-bull story let me give a better (I would even say the real) account, gathered from *Golgotha*, p. 186 *sq.*, since the later fathers throw considerable light on the matter.

Constantine's demand was unreasonable when he ordered Macarius to build a house of prayer on the scene of the Resurrection. As Mount Zion, beautiful for situation, was then befogged, how was a small site like Golgotha to be descried? This Bishop of Jerusalem was, however, a very subtil man. At first he may have been dismayed, but he quickly rose to the emergency. Enormous exertions were made to discover Golgotha, honest no doubt, but still frantic, since incongruous methods were

blended, viz., prayers to win the secret from heaven, tortures to wrest it from the Jews, not to add rewards promised from Helena's stores. At this critical juncture one Judas, a Hebrew from beyond the Euphrates, perhaps looking for redemption in Jerusalem, and



Plan of the Ancient Walls on the Northern Side of Jerusalem.

well-disposed to the Christians, in reading Isaiah for his comfort, observed in Chapter xxv, 7, that the Resurrection was connected with Mount Zion. Here he espied a providential clue. No Ophelite was at hand to explain Nehemiah and show that (Zion)

the city of David was on the eastern ridge, between Siloam and the Temple. Yet, as a son of a book-worm, Judas either was luckily able at once to lay his hand on a "sketch (of Jerusalem) come to him by paternal inheritance," or, on poring over a first edition of the Wars of Josephus written for his eastern countrymen, stumbled over the *obiter dictum* (*latius creditum*) gloss of that careless historian, that the Upper City (on S.W. hill) was by David named *Mesūdah*, *i.e.*, "fort" (2 Sam. v, 9, "David dwelt in the fort and called it the city of David," which is Zion). Christians could tell him Golgotha was outside Jerusalem; his own Scriptures bade him walk about Zion. He essayed to do so, and then, over against him on the slope of a hill to the north of what he took to be Zion, he detected tempting traces of a Jewish cemetery. Accordingly, on reflection, this shrewd Jew launched the assertion, "Yonder heathen temple covers the site of Golgotha and the tomb of Jesus." His word was readily accepted, and the ground cleared, when, lo and behold! a cave was found and joyfully hailed by Jews and Gentiles as the Tomb. Surely impious men had tried to conceal it! Judas, too, hereby, like Daniel, saved his kin, gained coin; finally he joined the Church, and, having put her under a deep obligation, deserved to be called Saint Kyriacus, discoverer of the Holy Sepulchre. This *Inventio*, wholly erroneous, was hardly a fraud, pious or impious, although a mischievous priest (Jewish) had a hand in it. Had Judas perused Nehemiah, the Holy Sepulchre would doubtless long ago have been located on Bezetha. The approximate position thereon has next to be sought.

The correct site of Golgotha.—The search on the eastern ridge may be shortened by turning our back (1) on its southern third, containing many interesting sites, as the Pool of Siloam, and near it the gate (within the enclosure of the two walls) leading to the *underground* passage (Jos., *φάραγγος*) to the king's garden—Zedekiah's way of escape; Hezekiah's rock-cut conduit; intermittent Gihon (Virgin's fountain); above it Joab's gutter; a little below it, in the Kidron, the sheep pool (John v, 2), otherwise called Solomon's (Jos.) and the King's pool (Neh.), covered by a building named Bethesda (the *pool* surely was not a *Beth*); and (2) on its central third embracing the Temple and fortress of Antonia, for these two-thirds of the ridge were enclosed by the outer wall at the time of the Crucifixion. Careful attention must now be concentrated on the open northern third, an eminence once reaching to Jeremiah's

Grotto and containing the sepulchre of King Alexander and the royal caves or quarries in "the Mount," where David hewed (white) "marble stones in abundance" and Solomon's 80,000 masons cut and finished huge blocks of white marble for the Temple.

At 500 feet from Antonia these vast subterranean quarries begin, and continue 500 feet to the present north wall of the city. Thence the open quarrying has produced, as it were, a great ditch, 500 feet wide, reaching to the Skull Hill, or Jeremiah's Grotto.

Even nature had made the eastern hill the most remarkable natural feature at Jerusalem. It alone contained the 40-foot stratum of pure glistening marble (a specimen lies before me), easy to be worked, hardening on exposure, used for the Temple and palaces at Jerusalem.

The present entrance to the underground quarries (*Quarterly Statement*, 1870, p. 373), almost forgotten for centuries, was found in 1852. Thrupp says that in 1523 the excavation was called the Cave of Zekediah, and later, as now, the Cotton Cave. This name is a puzzle. In passing, let me guess it. The above marble (locally known as *Meleki*, *i.e.*, Royal Stone) was hewn by David, and is called in Hebrew *shêsh* (Cant. v, 15) and *shayish* (1 Chr. xxix, 2): the word *shêsh* also means fine white Egyptian cotton or linen. Extreme whiteness, as of a lily, led to both substances receiving the same name. So now Cotton Cave means the White Marble Cave. Let tourists visit it, gather stones, and decide for themselves. Many have walked round Golgotha, I *claim* to have walked under it, and that Golgotha was on the Quarry Hill.

Some champion of the Skull Hill will, like Goliath, challenge me here, and say probably that truth, prophecy and the gospel, all support his claim, since that hill was *near* Jerusalem. It must be admitted that *nigh* (John xix, 20) is indeed a vague term, admitting of any distance up to 600 yards or more. Need therefore drove me to examine carefully the Biblical accounts. It was cheering, then, to note that both St. John says Mary Magdalene, on seeing the stone taken away from the tomb, "*runneth* therefore and cometh to Simon Peter" (R. V.), and also St. Matthew says that matrons bidden by the angel to go *quickly*[1] actually "*ran* (xxviii, 8, R. V.) to bring his disciples word;" even (Mark adds) "*fled* from the

[1] Gen. xxiv, 20, shows that *ran* is stronger than *hasted*.

tomb." From the tombs (marked "Gordon's" and "Conder's," see figures 2 and 4 on Plan of Ground near "Jeremiah's Grotto") the distance to any gate in the second wall must have been some 600 yards.

Neither Mary nor Salome ought to be impressed into having run three stadia, while one sufficed for a trained Greek. The Skull Hill seems to me much too far from the second wall to have possibly been Golgotha. That even 400 yards is too long a distance I would gladly admit, as less would make the site of Golgotha to be within the present wall of the city, *i.e.*, on the position of the New City or Bezetha of Josephus.

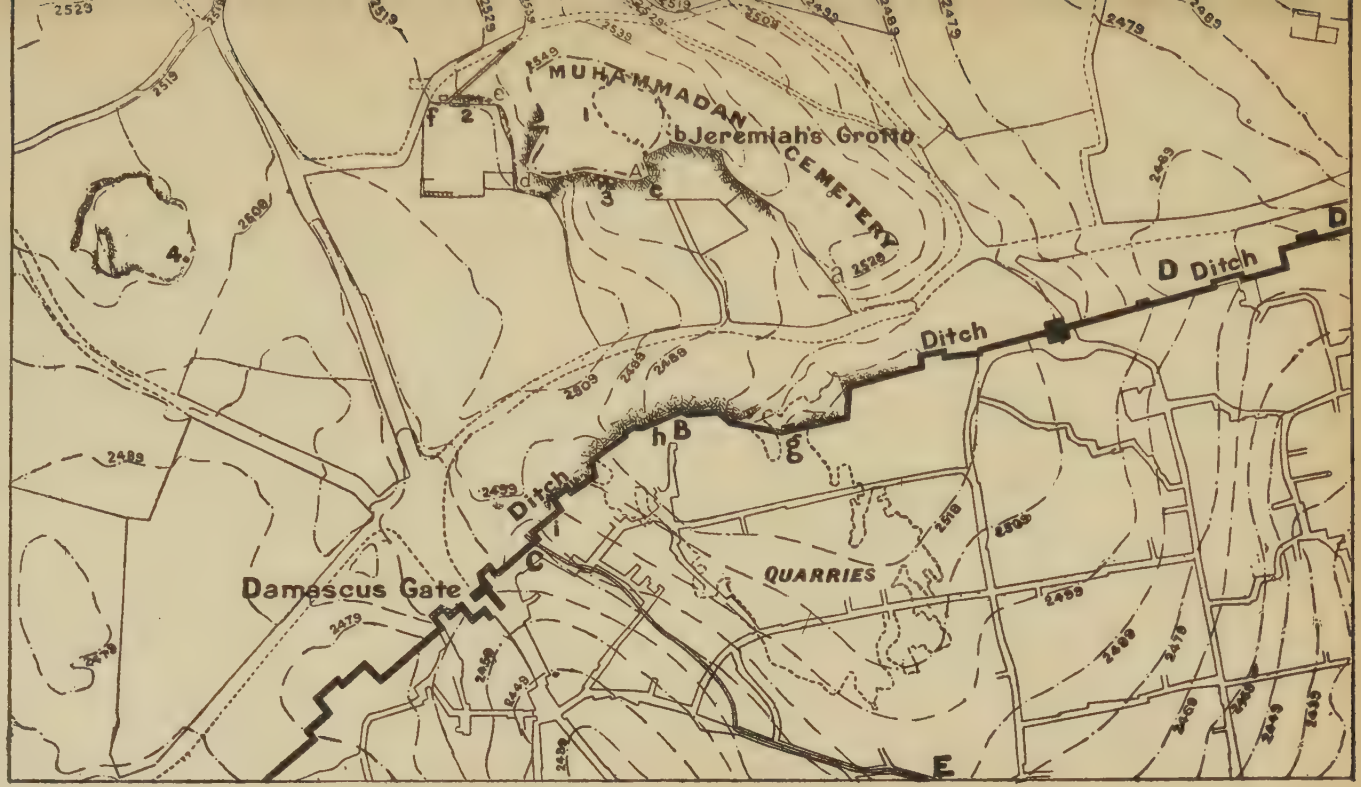
As for Alexander, so for Joseph of Arimathæa, the great layer of *meleki* would be the choicest place for a tomb; and Zion's meek King, who rode on an ass whereon never man sat, and was buried in a *new* tomb, would most appropriately be laid in the choicest marble. Yet one could hardly have anticipated that Nature had so prepared the eastern ridge that it was pre-eminently fitted to be the choicest burial-place for its Lord.

Origin of the name Golgotha.

As the summit of any hill might be called in Hebrew a head, it used to appear to me that such a summit, if it were round and of white rock, might well be called a skull, so that no further explanation was needed. After reading first Canon McColl's Paper (*Quarterly Statement*, 1901, p. 287) and then "Golgotha," I see that stress must be put on the *first* noun in the term "Place of a Skull." The question then arises, Whose skull?

In reference to Golgotha, the Gospels mention it only in connection with the second man (Christ), while the early Fathers believed that, according to Hebrew tradition, the first man Adam was buried there, so that the skull was taken to be Adam's skull; but the Old Testament, as I hope to show, connects Golgotha (and therefore the Skull) with the great middle-man, Goliath.

As Isaiah connected for us Zion with the Resurrection, so Jeremiah, in the very passage which cleared away the last doubt about the position of Zion, also (I believe) gives us the very name and position of Golgotha, though the reading is mutilated, in the words (xxxi, 39) "compass about unto Goath"—evidently to the west of the hill of Gareb. In *Quarterly Statement*, 1882, p. 58, I



Plan of Ground near "Jeremiah's Grotto."

2. "Gordon's Tomb."

4. "Conder's Tomb."

placed Gareb east of the Damascus gate, *i.e.*, on the site which now (I believe) was that of Golgotha. Blayney observed on Goatha, "the latter is supposed to be Golgotha, *i.e.*, in Hebrew, the heap of Gotha," or Galgotha. Gareb must lie east of St. Anne's ravine.

To one satisfied that prophecy fixes Golgotha on Mount Zion, and that the New Testament requires the former to be on the site of Bezetha, east of the Damascus gate, and also mindful of Blayney's remark on Golgotha, it is encouraging to find that the LXX for "Goatha" give ἐξ ἐκλεκτῶν λίθων (chosen stones), the very words with which they translate *stones of gĕlâl* (גלל) in Ezra v, 8, *i.e.*, hewn stones, or stones too large to be carried, requiring to be rolled. The Bezetha underground quarry existed, according to Ganneau, between 700 B.C. and 400 B.C., *i.e.*, in the time of Ezra; hence the suspicion arose, and has become to me a conviction, that the correct reading in Jeremiah more or less resembled the three terms Goatha, Golal, Galgotha (Blayney), and referred to the site of the subterranean quarries, while Josephus further speaks of the third wall (obviously here south of the skull hill) as passing *through* or *over* the royal caves, *i.e.*, the Cotton Cave. A settled belief that Golgotha was on the mount (*i.e.*, Bezetha) north of Antonia, makes me desire to show the connection of the three terms with Golgotha, or rather the uncontracted Hebrew word. Here study seems to answer the question, "Whose skull?"

Was it Nicanor's, whose head was hung up near Jerusalem? In *Quarterly Statement*, 1901, p. 403, Schick, rightly premising that Golgotha had not to do with Adam's skull, adds: "I suggest that it was Goliath's skull which David brought to Jerusalem and buried close to and outside the city." He, I think, might have continued thus: "Saul raised at Carmel a trophy of his conquest of Amalek. David likewise, after killing Goliath, cut off his head (as he threatened), took it to Jerusalem (his destined capital), exhibited it perhaps to the Jebusites (they would know what he meant), and (to call type to my aid) mindful that in the Mount of the Lord, the Lord had delivered Isaac, carried out his purpose of erecting both a memorial to the Lord (who delivered him out of the hand of the Philistine), and also a trophy of his victory, on the site of Isaac's altar. As at Ai and in the valley of Achor, a great heap of stones (like Galeed) was raised, with the crushed head (Gen. iii, 15) of Goliath below it in a pit or hole. The natural name of the monu-

ment visible from the great north road would be Galgoliath," *i.e.*, Goliath's heap, like Absalom's hand. I therefore conclude :—

(1) That Golgotha was on the eastern ridge, on Bezetha, within the line of the present wall, and (as type requires) on the site of Isaac's altar.

(2) That from about 1000 B.C. the memorial heap of stones (and the site) would be called Galgoliath, and known as the place of Goliath's skull.

(3) That even after the Mount had been quarried by David and Solomon, Jeremiah knew the place by this name.

(4) That while the tradition about Isaac's sacrifice was partly transferred to Moriah, the connection of Goliath's skull with *Galgoliath* still survived in memory.

(5) That in after time Goliath was forgotten, but the place of the skull still remembered.

(6) That at the time of the Crucifixion the Hebrew גל גלית (Galgoliath) had been corrupted into Aram. גלגלתא (shortened to Golgotha), while the place of Golgotha was known, as in the New Testament, as the place of a skull.

(7) That the common name would be *Yad Golgotha* (Γολγοθᾶ τόπος, Mark). This Greek word is used by LXX for *yâd* (place, *lit.* hand, trophy, monument) in Deut. xxiii, 13, in reference to the unclean *place* without the camp (Heb. xiii, 13). With both Isaac and Goliath forgotten, and only the skull of some *pammegethistatus* (Jos.) to reckon with, no holy reverence would cling to such a place, esteemed but a dunghill, full of dead men's bones and all uncleanness, *before* the Crucifixion. Joseph's tomb would be sufficient distance away to escape ceremonial defilement.

NOTES ON PALESTINIAN FOLK-LORE.

By Miss Gladys Dickson.

(*Continued from April*, 1906, *p.* 132.)

III.

The Luck-points of a Horse.

A white star in the centre of the forehead of a horse is considered a lucky sign.

Small ears and a small mouth in a horse denote good breed.

Two small black spots located just above the hoof on the white-stockinged left hind leg of a horse is an unlucky sign.

In certain parts of the country a horse is valued by the number of white stockings it may have. If it have one, it is said to be worth one hundred coins (any coins from paras upwards, according to the breed, paces, etc., of the animal). If it have two or three white stockings, it is valued in the same way; but if it have four, then the horse is said to be worth nothing at all!

A horse that habitually paws the ground is said to be digging its owner's grave.

A horse's speed can be reckoned by the position of the small hair twist that is usually found at the end of the ribs close to the bony projection on the animal's flank behind the saddle. The higher from the ground the hair twist, the faster the animal can go.

Two hair twists placed one above the other in the centre of the forehead of a horse is called a *Kabr Maftûḥ* ("open grave"). It is considered very unlucky to ride a horse with this mark, as the person who does so is destined to die within a short space of time after.

The hair twist on a horse's neck is both a lucky and an unlucky sign. If it curl forward towards the horse's head, it is a lucky

sign, for it signifies that the sword of the rider conquers; if, on the other hand, it be reversed and curl backwards, then the sword of the enemy will conquer.

The bay-coloured horse is said to be the swiftest of all the horses. A story to illustrate this is told of a certain Arab Sheikh, who, having been engaged in a fight with another tribe, was taking his flight with his little son. They were both mounted on a magnificent white mare, which belonged to the Sheikh, and which had always been highly valued on account of the great speed at which it could go. After having ridden some little distance, the Sheikh asked his son to look round and see if they were being followed. The boy replied that there was someone riding after them on a black horse. The Sheikh seemed satisfied on hearing this report, but presently repeated his question. The boy answered that they were still being pursued, but that this time the horse was white. "Never mind," said his father, "mine is better." In a few minutes he asked for a further report, and the reply given was the same, with the difference that the horse was a chestnut. The Sheikh, however, put his question a fourth time; but upon being told by his son that the pursuer was mounted on a bay, he cried out: "Then we are lost, for there is no horse which it cannot overtake." His words proved to be true, for in a short time they were caught up and captured.

IV.

Some Serpent Stories and Superstitions.

The following curious superstition was told me some time ago by a peasant woman from 'Ain Karim:—

In every cemetery there are a certain number of serpents that are always on the watch for a woman's burial. The moment the body is covered with earth, one of the serpents bites off and eats the tongue of the corpse. In doing this, the serpent is said to be performing an act of revenge for the wrong once committed to the serpent by the tongue of Eve.

Snake poison is occasionally used in certain drugs. It is also

given to young children to make them proof against any snake bite they may get during their lives.

The large black serpent, which is very common all over Palestine, is also used in a preparation for making the hair grow. The serpent is slit open and sown with wheat. The juice of the latter, when ripe, is extracted and rubbed on the scalp, with, it is said, a marvellous effect!

One day, some years ago, a woman living in the village of 'Ain Karim took her basket and went off to her vineyard to gather some figs; but on arriving at the place where the fig-trees stood, she was horrified to see a large black serpent curled up under one of the trees. The woman was very much alarmed, and started to run away. The serpent followed her, but fortunately she managed to escape. A few days later, the woman again set out to the vineyard with the intention of obtaining the figs, but found the serpent still occupying the same place. She was therefore obliged to return home without the figs, and declared she would never attempt to get them again. She related her adventure to some of the villagers, who immediately went to the spot and killed the serpent; but the moment they did so, all the figs on the trees withered up.

Once upon a time, a young man who had just been married, desired to take a long journey. He informed his mother-in-law, who was living in the same house, of his plans, and charged her with the care of his wife while he was absent. His mother-in-law promised to do all he told her, and he departed, feeling quite contented. A few days after he had gone, however, the woman commenced to ill-use her daughter to such an extent that before long she succeeded in driving her out of the house. Having done this, she killed a sheep and sewed its skin into a bag, which she stuffed with bran and buried not far from the house.

Meanwhile her poor daughter, after leaving the house, continued to walk on until she found herself under the ruins of a castle. By this time night had set in, and with it a severe storm; but she soon found a refuge under one of the old walls. So she laid herself down and began to weep. In a short time, however, a serpent crept up to her and asked her the cause of her grief. She told her story. When she had finished she felt, to her horror, that the serpent had been curling itself round her arm and settling itself in her bosom. The serpent bade her not to fear, for it would do her no harm. It remained there until the early morning, when it

suddenly crept out and said to the young woman: "As you have been so good to me and have kept me warm during this night, I will reward you by giving you a great and beautiful palace to live in, and it shall stand here in place of this ruin." And in a few minutes, to her great astonishment, the woman found herself standing in a magnificent palace.

Now, as soon as the mother had buried the sheep skin, she dressed herself up in her daughter's clothes and proceeded to make herself look as much like her daughter as possible, and succeeded so well, that when after several weeks her son-in-law returned from his journey, he believed her to be his wife. He asked after his mother-in-law, but was told that she had died soon after his departure, and he was shown her grave.

Some time after this event the woman had a son, who became seriously ill. The woman thought of and longed for some of the fruit that grew in her daughter's palace garden. One day she made up her mind to send and ask for some; but the messenger she sent was put to death by the servants and the serpent the moment he appeared at the palace. A second was sent, but he was served in the same manner, and likewise several others. At last, however, an interview was granted to one of the messengers; but upon the owner of the palace hearing what was required, she instantly refused, and at the same time bade him inform his master that he had been made the victim of an evil plot, and that the woman he was living with was not his wife, but that she, his real wife, was waiting to receive him at the palace. When the young man heard this, he was so infuriated that he murdered both the woman and child, after which he proceeded to his wife's abode, where he lived for the rest of his days.

ANCIENT PALESTINE.

By Stanley A. Cook, M.A.

II.—*First Babylonian Dynasty.*

We turn next to the great Babylonian dynasty which brought Babylon to a position which it held for nearly two thousand years. Its rise is contemporary with the invasion of the Elamites, the people of Susa, whose early history is being unfolded by the French excavations at that city. A definite allusion to their inroad is furnished by Ashur-bani-pal (about 645 B.C.), who states that when he conquered Susa he recovered the image of the goddess Nanâ, which Kudur-Naḫunte had carried off from Erech 1,635 years previously. The notice, of whatever authority, points to the date 2280 or thereabouts, and affords some idea of the extent of the inroad. Other references to invasion about this period combine with the preceding to illustrate the Elamite devastations, and it is possible that we may see in these catastrophes the explanation of the scantiness of Babylonian historical tradition in the preceding ages.

A certain Kudur-Mabug, the son of Simti-silḫak, is found in occupation of Babylonia, and erected a temple to the moon-god in Ur. He claims the title "Prince of Martu"; it is disputed whether the reference is to the land lying on the west border of Elam or whether it comprises Syria and Palestine. The possibility hat there was a region in North Babylonia called Martu (Amurru) is not without independent support.

Names compounded with Kudur (meaning perhaps "servant") are specifically Elamite, and particular interest is attached to this feature in view of the Biblical account of Chedorlaomer. This name is purely Elamite in form (Kudur-lagamar), and is actually said to occur on late Babylonian texts. Moreover, Kudur-Mabug's son Eri-aku, or Rim-aku, king of Larsa, was a contemporary of Ḫammurabi and ruled over a small South Babylonian state. This name, in its turn, has at once suggested the Biblical Arioch and

it is extremely interesting to find that Eri-aku reappears in the same texts with Tudḫulu. A short account of their contents may be given from Prof. Sayce's recent description.[1]

The first (Spartali collection A) describes the capture of Babylon and Borsippa by the Elamite conqueror Ku-dur-laḫḫa-mar (so it is read) with his hordes (the Umman-manda). "It is ascribed to the unrighteousness of the people which causes Merodach [Marduk] to bring evil upon his city of Babylon, and Nebo to forsake his city of Borsippa. The lesson of the poem is thus similar to that inculcated by the Jewish prophets, and the moral intended by it was probably that as the fall of Babylon in old days was due to the sins of its inhabitants, so its present conquest by Cyrus ought to be ascribed to the same cause."

The second tablet (B) is particularly remarkable, since here the story of Ku-dur-laḫḫa-mar and his followers is in some curious manner connected with mystical rites in the months of July and December. Prof. Sayce points out, these are the months in which the gods Tammuz and Nergal were believed to have died, and consequently some funereal ceremonies connected with the summer and winter solstices appear to be alluded to. The description of the desecrated temple frequented by herds and dogs; of the raven which builds its nest and croaks in the ruins; of the promised king "who from days everlasting had been fore-destined," will at once suggest parallels partly from the Jewish prophets and partly from the inscriptions of Cyrus himself.

The third (C) narrates the punishment which Marduk inflicted upon the enemies of his land: Sar-ilani the son of Eri-aku; Tu-udḫul-a son of Gazza . . . (the name is incomplete), and the great Chedorlaomer himself meet their end, and the "sinner" is no more.

These three interesting texts belong to the same period. "The echoes of the Cyrus texts which occur in them suggest that they were composed in the age which saw the extinction of Babylonian independence. In all three cases the same fragment of earlier Babylonian history was worked into them by way of parallel, illustration, warning, and encouragement." Various forms of spelling, &c., also point to a later period, and the spelling "Laḫḫamar" instead of Lagamar, is reproduced in the Biblical Chedorlaomer. Consequently, as Prof. Sayce remarks, "This would go

[1] *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, 1906, pp. 193–200, 241–51; 1907, pp. 7–17.

to show that the narrative in Gen. xiv. was copied from cuneiform tablets at a time when the names of Chedorlaomer and his allies in their popular forms had already made their way into literature."[1] This will also account for the popularity of the name Arioch, not only in the book of Daniel but also in the book of Judith, where "Arioch the king of the Elymaeans," king Arphaxad and king Nebuchadnezzar assemble for war.[2]

What elements of genuine old Babylonian history have been preserved in these late semi-poetical texts is uncertain. Chedorlaomer had apparently conquered Babylonia and had sacked Babylon. Like Sennacherib, another great enemy of Babylon, he had been assassinated by his son. "His son with the iron dirk of his girdle pierced his heart." What is known from the contemporary history of the twenty-third century shows clearly that the elements have been carefully preserved, but it would be precarious to attempt any reconstruction on the basis of these popular Babylonian texts which have used the ancient chronicles for purposes which are not wholly historical. But they show that the account of the Babylonian wars of freedom against Elam and the final union and establishment of the Babylonian empire under Ḥammurabi long continued to be a source of reflection and study.

To return to the Babylonian dynasty. It consisted of nine kings, whose names are Sumu-abi, Sumu-la-ilu, Zabû, Ḥammurabi, Samsu-ilûna, Ebisu (Abeshu'a), Ammi-satana, Ammi-zadugga, and Samsu-satana. The most noteworthy feature here is the sudden appearance of a new class of names which are not of the usual Babylonian style, but are characteristic generally of the Arabian and Palestinian (Hebrew, &c.) formation. The imperfect of the verb, which otherwise takes the form *imlik*, appears as *iamlik* in Iamlik-ilu, Iarbi-ilu, &c. The termination *-na* in Samsu-ilûna "Shamash, our god" is quite distinct from the ordinary Babylonian *-ni*; *s* is found notably in this name, where *sh* is otherwise used. Many other points of detail have been noticed which combine to indicate a new infusion.

Now, the history, in particular the internal conditions of this period, have been illuminated in the most welcome manner by the

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 17.

[2] Judith i, 6. Although it might seem tempting to compare the unknown "sons of Chelod" with Chedorlaomer, textual corruption being assumed, there is no evidence in the versions to support the proposal.

repeated discovery of contract-tablets, historical records, and, as is very well known, a remarkable series of laws codified by Ḫammurabi. Many of the personal names which are met with at this period are of extreme interest. In Abi-ramu one may recognize the Hebrew Abiram or Abram; Ya'ḳub-ilu at once points to the name Jacob; Yashub-ilu, conceivably (but not necessarily) to Joseph. Abdi-ili, "servant of God," is the same as Abdeel; Ya'zar-ilu, "God helps," reminds one of Azriel; and further examples could be cited. Thus it appears that the population of Babylonia about 2000 B.C. contained a considerable admixture of Semites whose names would show them to be very closely akin to the people of Palestine itself.

Ḫammurabi's predecessors had been gradually freeing Babylonia from the Elamite yoke, and he himself undertook the task of reorganizing the scattered forces in order to make a single organic kingdom with Babylon as its capital. It was a kingdom the like of which had already been formed by the great Sargon and by Lugal-zaggisi (p. 61 *sq.* above), but whilst these had no lasting coherence, Babylon henceforth became the most important city of the southern district. The Elamite power was finally broken, and among the fragmentary annals of the king is the record, in his thirty-first year, of the capture of Rim-Sin and his land.

Our knowledge of the internal history of this period is derived partly from the letters which Ḫammurabi wrote to his officials, partly from the numerous contemporary contract-tablets, and from his code of laws.[1] From the whole we gain a picture of Babylonian life which for extent of culture and thought stands unequalled in the ancient world. The care which the king took to promote the internal development of his territory; his works of irrigation; his granaries and storehouses; his interest in the temples of the gods; in fine, his devotion to the national cause; all combine to form a striking picture of old-time life and politics.

The famous discovery at Susa of the stone monument with forty-four columns of closely engraved writing is too well known to need further remark. It had apparently been removed by some Elamite conqueror, and five columns of the stele were erased with the evident intention of inscribing upon it an account of its capture. Although the world has lost the laws which formerly stood in this place, the columns remain uninscribed. The code has attracted

[1] See especially, L. W. King, *Letters and Inscriptions of Ḫammurabi*, Vols. I–III (London, 1898–1900).

the widest attention, since not only does it give us the oldest specimen of ancient law, far older than the collections of India, Greece, or Rome, but the characteristic Semitic stamp of the contents and the many parallels with Semitic law preserved in the Old Testament and elsewhere has made it one of the most welcome additions for the study of comparative custom. It appears that king Ḥammurabi, in his desire to set principles of law and justice upon a sounder level, found it necessary to draw up a code of the existing practices. Much was old, but some novelties were introduced. In a prologue and epilogue he describes his conquests and achievements; he pronounces a blessing upon those who observe the laws, and utters a series of denunciations upon the disobedient. The gods, he says, had entrusted him with the sovereignty, and he had made it his duty to establish "right and justice" in the land. It was from the gods that Ḥammurabi received the laws, Shamash the sun-god was the god of law, and "justice" and "right" were his children. The upper part of the inscription actually bears a representation of the sun-god, and before him stands the reverent recipient.[1]

Thus we find ourselves in a period which is thronged with unusual, yet not unfamiliar features. The linguistic evidence points to a strain which suggests a non-Babylonian influence; the names find their analogies in Palestine or Canaan, as also in Arabia; some of the Babylonian kings claim supremacy over the land Martu, whilst in Babylonia itself there is evidence which suggests that the people called themselves "Amorites." The general conclusion, based upon a number of points of evidence, is that there was the same civilisation and culture extending over the oriental world; that the influence of a Semitic stock was making itself felt everywhere, and that great movements had been in progress which left their mark upon the whole land. The Phoenicians preserved the tradition that they themselves had come from the Persian Gulf (Herodotus, vii, 89); it is not impossible that at this period a separate movement extended along the Euphrates to the northern end of the Syrian desert (*Quarterly Statement*, p. 59). At least, it

[1] The code has been translated into English by C. H. W. Johns, *The Oldest Code of Laws* (2nd ed.), and T. G. Pinches, *The Old Testament in the Light of the Historical Records of Assyria and Babylonia* (2nd ed.). A comparison of its contents with Semitic law and custom elsewhere was made by the present writer (*Laws of Moses and Code of Ḥammurabi*).

is certain that far-reaching changes took place at the time of the first Babylonian dynasty, and by them Egypt may well have been affected. In fact, the possibility of associating the so-called "Amoritic" movement or migration with the Hyksos invasion of Egypt has approved itself to several scholars independently.

Somewhere about the eighteenth century a new wave swept from the north, perhaps from the steppes of Central Asia. The Kassites, already known as mercenaries—a Kassite soldier is mentioned in the time of Ammi-zadugga—entered under the leadership of Gan-diš, overran the country, seized its cities, and established themselves upon the throne for nearly six centuries. Marduk, the chief god of Babylonia, they removed to Ḫani (apparently in West Media), an indication of the fall of the empire. It was probably at this time that a new race entered Mesopotamia and laid the foundations of the kingdom of Mitanni which we shall meet with later. We can scarcely speculate as to the result of this foreign pressure coming from the north, and a recent suggestion that the tribes in front were driven into Egypt and became known as the Hyksos must naturally depend upon the chronological evidence for the period of this mysterious folk. Hommel (*Grundriss*, p. 30) has suggested that the Kassites, an Iranian race, introduced the horse into South-western Asia. Certainly it does not appear to have been used in Egypt before the time of the Hyksos, but the problem lies outside our scope. The Kassites, so far as can be seen, were absorbed by the people among whom they settled, but the presence of Iranian names in the Amarna tablets and elsewhere seems to show that Anatolia, Mesopotamia, and Syria were not uninfluenced by the new stock.[1]

[1] Ball, *Proc. Soc. of Bibl. Arch.*, 1882, pp. 424 sqq.; Hommel, *op. cit.*

(To be continued.)

COINAGE OF PTOLEMAÏS AND SYCAMINUM.

By Archdeacon Dowling, Haifa.

Acre seems to have received the name of Ptolemaïs from Ptolemy Philadelphus (B.C., 285–247) but down to B.C., 266 the name Ake alone occurs on the coins. There were no stamped pieces circulating in Phoenicia earlier than the Persian rule.

Coins of the Ptolemaic Kings of Egypt, assigned to Ptolemaïs :—

1. Ptolemaeus I., Soter I., B.C. 305–284. One gold (Egyptian mint).
2. Ptolemaeus II., Philadelphus, B.C. 284–247. Two silver (Egyptian mint) and one copper.
3. Ptolemaeus III, Euergetes I., B.C. 247–222. One gold and eighteen silver.
4. Ptolemaeus IV., Philopator I., B.C. 222–204. One copper.
5. Ptolemaeus VI., Philometor I., B.C. 181–146. One silver Tetradrachm, as King of Syria.

Seleucid Ptolemaic Coins.

1. Demetrius I., Soter, B.C. 162–150. One silver.
2. Alexander I. [Balas], B.C. 152–144. One silver.

Alexander Balas married Cleopatra, daughter of Ptolemy Philometor at Ptolemaïs. 1 Macc : x., 51–58.

After an interval of less than a century from Cleopatra and Antiochus viii (B.C. 125–123), the Autonomous brass coinage begins from B.C. 47. The *inscription* is ΑΚΗ. ΙΕΡ. ΚΑΙ ΑΣ. The *type* is a palm-tree, ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΕΩΝ ΙΕΡΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΣΥΛΟΥ. The prevailing type is, *obv.*, Head of Zeus ; *rev.*, Tyche, standing on rudder, on the tiller of which she rests her hand, in which she holds an aplustre.

The city was eventually called Colonia Claudii Caesaris, in consequence of its receiving the privileges of a Roman city from the Emperor Tiberius Claudius (A.D. 41–54).

There are twenty-three Imperial reigns represented on the Ptolemaïs coins from Claudius to Salonina, usually Colonial, with Latin inscriptions: COL. PTOL; COL. CLAUD. PTOL; COL. CLAUD. NERONIA PTOLEMAÏS, *etc.* *Types*: Tyche seated on rock, with the river Belus at her feet.

The Ptolemaïs coins in my Galilean collection are Autonomous, and of the reigns of Trajan, Hadrian, Septimus Severus, Caracalla, Elagabalus, Philip I, Trebonionus Gallus—fourteen all told. On different occasions when visiting Acre I have enquired for local coinage, without result. But on one occasion a Turkish military officer asked me to purchase a handful of silver tetradrachms of Alexander the Great. It is possible that these tetradrachms may have been struck at the neighbouring city of Sycaminum (Haifa), for two specimens of this reign (B.C. 336–323), struck at Sycaminum and Scythopolis, are in the Paris and Gotha Museums.

There seems to have been no Greek Sycaminum coinage of the Ptolemies, Kings of Egypt. Of the Seleucid Kings of Syria the British Museum Catalogue (1878) supplies the following list:

Seleucid Sycaminum Coins.

1. Cleopatra, B.C. 125. One silver.
2. Cleopatra and Antiochus VIII., B.C. 125–121. One silver of Phoenicia; one copper, with portrait of Antiochus.
3. Antiochus IX., Cyzicenus, B.C. 116–95. One silver of Phoenicia.

In the Introduction to the *Coinage of the Seleucid Kings of Syria* (B.M., p. xxx) it is recorded that in the year B.C. 103 Ptolemy Lathyrus landed at the port of Sycaminum with 30,000 men, which proves this city to have been of some importance about the time at which these Syrian coins were struck.

METEOROLOGICAL OBSERVATIONS TAKEN IN JERUSALEM.

By ADOLPH DATZI, Jerusalem.

THE following table shows the result of meteorological observations taken in 1906, in Jerusalem, about 2,500 feet above the level of the Mediterranean Sea. They were made at 9 A.M., with the barometer corrected for index error, not for temperature or elevation. The observations for 1905 are appended for comparison :—

Monthly Means, 1906.	Barometer.	Att.* Ther.	Thermometers.				Rain.		Winds.							
			Max.	Min.	Dry Bulb.	Wet Bulb.	Inches.	Days.	N.	N.E.	E.	S.E.	S.	S.W.	W.	N.W.
January	27·559	46	51·8	39·5	48·3	44·7	7·020	14	2	0	11	1	0	6	3	8
February	27·429	49	55·1	42·	51·3	46·6	7·950	13	0	2	2	4	1	12	3	4
March	27·495	52	61·3	44·9	56·3	50·8	2·700	7	1	1	3	5	0	6	5	10
April	27·496	59	69·5	50·3	65·1	55·5	5·710	7	3	4	2	9	0	3	4	5
May	27·464	66	75·2	54·3	69·2	58·7	0·990	5	1	4	2	5	5	3	5	6
June	27·490	73	84·4	62	80·3	66·5	...	...	5	3	0	0	0	2	3	17
July	27·417	76	84·8	65·1	81·7	68·4	...	...	1	0	0	0	0	2	9	19
August	27·449	77	85·9	65·8	83·2	67·6	...	...	6	0	0	1	0	0	1	23
September ...	27·511	73	82·7	62·2	78·9	65·6	...	...	2	1	1	0	0	0	3	23
October	27·574	69	77·2	60·5	72·4	61·9	1·080	3	2	5	3	1	1	2	5	12
November ...	27·588	63	66·1	52·6	62·3	56·7	0·750	3	4	4	9	2	0	2	1	8
December ...	27·548	56	60·1	47·7	56·3	51·5	1·940	7	1	4	5	1	0	4	8	8
Year	27·500	63	71·1	53·9	67·1	57·8	28·140	59	28	28	38	29	7	42	50	143

* *i.e.*, the thermometer attached to the barometer itself.

Monthly Means. 1905.	Barometer.	Att.* Ther.	Thermometers.				Rain.		Winds.							
			Max.	Min.	Dry Bulb.	Wet Bulb.	Inches.	Days.	N.	N.E	E.	S.E.	S.	S.W.	W.	N.W.
January	27·530	47	48·6	36·7	44·5	41·1	4·170	11	2	7	6	0	2	5	5	4
February	27·541	46	50·3	37·1	47·2	43·1	7·580	12	0	5	2	4	1	5	5	6
March	24·428	51	58·1	42	52·5	47·9	6·510	13	0	4	1	4	1	5	6	10
April	27·499	61	71·4	52·1	65·8	56·5	1·390	4	0	2	4	3	0	8	9	4
May	27·529	70	80·2	58·7	75·8	61	...	...	0	8	2	4	0	1	3	13
June	27·512	72	81·8	59·8	75·6	62·3	...	...	0	0	0	3	0	2	2	23
July	27·446	75	85·3	65·2	81·7	65·7	...	...	2	0	0	0	0	0	3	36
August	27·450	76	86·8	66·3	82·2	67	...		0	6	0	0	0	0	3	22
September ...	27·498	74	88·9	64·7	81	65·7	...	...	1	4	1	3	0	1	5	15
October	27·579	71	80·6	62·2	75·8	62·3	0·850	5	3	9	3	2	0	2	2	10
November ...	27·629	64	72·4	55·6	68·3	55·6	...	...	2	4	6	10	1	1	0	6
December ...	27·536	51	52·4	40·7	48·4	44·1	13·720	13	2	6	4	2	0	6	7	4
Year	27·514	63	71·4	53·4	66·5	56·0	34·220	58	12	55	29	35	5	36	50	113

* *i.e.*, the thermometer attached to the barometer itself.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

1. *The Isaiah Inscription.*—Some study of the inscription found by Schick in a chapel in Silwan and represented by him in the *Quarterly Statement*, 1890, pp. 16–18, leads me to offer a translation. Schick's form of the inscription was produced from a squeeze, and will be found on p. 17. In the same year Petrie, *Quarterly Statement*, 1890, p. 157, writes that he found Schick's transcriptions "not quite correct," and gave another reading. So far as I can learn, no one has translated this inscription, and the second form of it seems incapable of translation. If we take Schick's form, however, and let the traces of letters have value, the inscription may be given thus:—

ΕΚΤΥΠΗ, ΤΕΡΩΙCΑΙΑ ΠΡΟΦΗΤΟΝ.

In this reading the first mark is read as Ε, the mark after Η is read as iota subscript, and the mark after Φ is taken as a trace of Η; I then understand the first word to be in the dative, the second to be for ΤΕΙΕΡΩ and also a dative, and the other words to represent genitives. The meaning would then be:

"For the bas-relief and shrine of Isaiah the prophet."

It would thus describe the purpose of the niche figured by Schick, and would illustrate Matt. xxiii, 29.

Prof. T. F. Wright.

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2. *The true site of Zion.*—In view of renewed interest in this problem, the following letter from an anonymous correspondent may be of interest:—

"I think I have seen in a former number of the *Quarterly Statement*, a notice of that argument for the true site of Zion which is founded on the expression in 1 Kings viii, 1, 'to bring *up* the ark . . . out of the city of David, which is Zion': for that implies, of course, that the city of David was on a lower level than

the Temple. But I do not remember to have seen any topographical inference drawn from the expression in 2 Sam. v, 17, 'David *went down* to the hold.' The true account of the matter would seem to be this:—Zion, properly so called, was a Jebusite outwork on the southern slope of the eastern hill, and south of the present Haram. This outwork was taken from the Jebusites by David himself. On the same day (2 Sam. v, 8) David offered the post of general to whoever would take the Jebusite fortress, which was on the highest level of the same range, and included the Haram, or part of it. Joab took it, and was promoted accordingly. David took up his residence at first, and temporarily, in the fortification which he had taken himself: 'the city where David *encamped*,' as the original of Isaiah xxix, 1, has it. Afterwards David, had a palace built for himself *on the higher level* by Hiram (2 Sam. v, 11): from whence, on the invasion by the Philistines, David 'went down,' shifting his quarters for the time to the fortification on the lower level, where he had resided at first. The ark remained throughout on the same lower level, 'the city of David'; and when it had been *brought up* (1 Kings viii, 1) to the newly built Temple by Solomon, Solomon had David's old residence enlarged for his own palace, and it became thenceforward the residence of all the kings of Judah in succession: hence the expression in 1 Kings x, 5, 'his *ascent* by which he *went up* into the house of the LORD'—evidently a private flight of stairs from the palace to the higher level of the Temple.

"How all this is to be explained on the idea that David had only one residence, and that on the western hill of Jerusalem, opposite to the Temple range, I for one fail to see."

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3. *Ancient Measures.*—A correspondent observes that in the account given in the *Quarterly Statement*, April, 1903, p. 180, of the temple of Eshmun, the measurements of the walls (197 by 144½ feet) almost exactly bear to each other the ratio of 15 : 11. From this he infers that it should be possible to ascertain the standard which was in use. The proportions are unusual, and point to the employment of a length-measure which could be as little as 12·12 inches or as much as 39·4 inches. The intervening results he gives as 13·13, 14·3, 15·7, 17·5, 19·7, 22·5, 26·26, and 31·5.

THE

PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

NOTES AND NEWS.

The Annual General Meeting of the Palestine Exploration Fund was held on June 26th at the Royal Institution, the Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Winchester in the chair. There was a good attendance, and the greatest interest was taken in the account of the Fund's work. Sir Charles Watson gave a summary of the results of Mr. Macalister's excavations at Gezer, including the most recent discoveries made since the resumption of work. These will be found fully described in the first of the Second Series of Reports, and quite suffice to show that there is every reason to hope for a continued good harvest of solid results. Sir Charles Watson drew the attention of the audience to the fact that the new permit will last for two years, and that this will allow time for the complete excavation of Gezer if only sufficient funds are forthcoming. A full notice of the proceedings is given with this number (pages 175–183). (For the special donations to this Fund received during the past quarter, see below, page 172.)

A very able summary of the several recent excavations in Palestine, and their results as affecting a knowledge of Bible history and a better comprehension of incidents narrated in the Bible, has been written in a paper by Dr. Gurney Masterman, and read at the Victoria Institute on May 13th last. Dr. Masterman is a member of our General Committee, and a valuable contributor to our *Quarterly*. He is now stationed at Safed. His long residence in Palestine, his intimate knowledge of the natives, his culture, and his earnest study of all that bears upon Palestinian history and recent research, as well as his trained habits of accurate observation, make him a valued coadjutor in a district which is somewhat remote from our present field of operations.

Four beautiful water-colour drawings by the late Henry Harper, who was a member of the Executive Committee for many years, have been presented to the Committee by Mrs. Thornton of Cadogan Gardens. They represent "The so-called Skull Hill," "The interior of the 'Gordon' Tomb," "The Pool of Bethesada," and "A View of Hermon from the hill above Nazareth"; and form a valuable addition to the pictures by the same artist previously presented by Mr. Walter Morrison.

Travellers in Palestine will do well to avoid single pedestrian excursions into unfrequented districts. Although much safer now than it was a few years ago, it must be remembered that until very lately many districts were notoriously unsafe, and the inhabitants given to robbery whenever chance afforded opportunity. We learn from *Home Words* that in January an English traveller, unarmed and ignorant of the language, set out on a walking expedition and lost his way between the north end of the Lake of Galilee and Ṣafed. He was attacked with stones and robbed by two peasants, and eventually made his way in a very exhausted state to the hospice at Tabagha, and thence under escort to Ṣafed. By the aid of Dr. Masterman and the British Consular Agent, Mr. L. Miklasiewiecz, the exact locality and the thieves were identified.

Subsequently most of the stolen money was recovered by a simple "Oriental" method. Five soldiers and their horses were quartered on the village of the delinquents. As, at the end of four days, no effect was produced, the head man was informed that the number would be increased to fifteen. Immediately the purse and the money were produced upon assurance that there should not be a legal prosecution. The offenders had also to pay all expenses. These villagers have, it appears, been for some time making depredations and robbing defenceless persons. The traveller, as a result of the exposure and anxiety, was laid up in the Mission Hospital at Ṣafed for ten days with malarial fever.

At Jerusalem on Easter Sunday there was a very large gathering on the Mount of Olives, in order to witness the laying of the foundation-stone of the Sanatorium which is now being erected there under the auspices of their Imperial Majesties the Emperor and Empress of Germany. The Governor of Jerusalem and the different Consuls and representatives of the various religious com-

munities, Christian, Jewish, and Moslem, in the Holy City, were present at the interesting ceremony, to conduct which the Imperial Delegates, Freiherr von Mirbach, and the Senior Court-Preacher, the very Reverend Dr. Dryander, had been expressly sent from Berlin to Jerusalem.

Dr. Wheeler reports that the quarter ending March 31st was a fairly busy one for the Hospital at Jerusalem: "We had to close the wards during the Passover week, both on account of the feast and for cleaning purposes. The out-patient departments and the home-visiting continued without interruption. We have had a number of interesting cases, several of them from Egypt and Jaffa. The return for the quarter was:—In-patients, 260; out-patients, 3,000; dressings, 3,974; home visits, 1,865; prescriptions, 7,091."

The foundations of the out-patient extension have been laid, and it is hoped that the building will soon be finished.

"Many of our readers," says Dr. Wheeler in *Home Words*, "will be wondering at the 'gap' between our Easter and that of the Greek Church, ours having taken place on 31st March, and the Greek Easter not coming off till the 5th May. It will be of interest, then, to point out that in the Eastern Church, adhering to the old style of the calendar (Julian style), Easter falls this year five weeks after ours, on the day called in the Julian calendar April 22nd, but in ours—the Gregorian—May 5th. It occurred last year, on the same real day, by both calendars, the day reckoned April the 2nd in the east being the same as that called April 1st in the west. The reason of the difference is, that this year our paschal (the calendar, not the actual) full-moon was on March 27th, whereas the Julian style, making the dates thirteen days earlier, has to call the preceding full-moon the paschal one, as being the next after March 21st. England adopted the New Style in 1752."

Whilst digging the foundations of an enlargement of St. George's Church, some very interesting tombs were lately discovered. They belong to the class found in an ancient necropolis described at some length by Professor Clermont-Ganneau in Vol. I of his "Archæological Researches," pp. 248–251.

At the well-known Tell near Ain es-Sultan, near er-Rîhâ, an Austrian Society is commencing to excavate the remains of ancient

Jericho; the director, Prof. Sellin, has already discovered an ancient city wall. At Sebustiyeh Prof. Reissner, on behalf of an American Society, is just commencing the exploration of the great Tell which now contains all that remains of the once famous capital of the kingdom of Israel—Samaria. This is a gigantic task which, to do properly, will need great resources. Gezer, Jericho, and Samaria. Could three more important cities in the whole History of Palestine be brought under the pick and shovel? It may be said with confidence that never have Biblical archæological explorations in this land commenced under more favourable auspices, nor at more helpful sites. While the Austrians look after Jericho, and the Americans Samaria, let us all see to it that, in this friendly international competition, the work of the old Palestine Exploration—which may be called English and American—does not languish for want of funds.

The authorities have taken in hand the construction of the section of carriage road so long left incomplete between Jerusalem and Nâblus. Although the really difficult mountain descents are still to be begun, much has been done on the last parts, and if the work is continued with the energy with which it was begun during the early part of April, it should be finished this summer.

The Nebi Mûsa road is being rapidly completed, and though that part which goes to Jericho is a very wide detour as compared with the old carriage road, it should be of great use for a return journey; the old ascent is a terrible strain on the horses. The new road is distinctly picturesque, though one misses the peep into the wonderful gorge of the Wady Kelt which is such a memorable feature of the old road. If travellers by carriage could in the future go by the one route and return by the other, the drive to Jericho would be most interesting; the fear is that the former will be allowed to lapse into utter disrepair.

Damascus. On February 7th, in the presence of the Governor-General of the province, and the General Commanding the Fifth Army Corps, besides the foreign consuls, civil and military officials, and other notables, the new electric street cars and street lighting service were handed over to the "Société Ottomane Impériale des Tramways et d'Éclairage Électrique de Damas." The cars were

to begin running on March 14th, the opening of the Mohammedan fiscal year. Damascus is now lighted by 1,000 electric street lamps, besides lights in the Great Mosque, and private lights will soon be in use. A generating station is established on the Barada river. The installation is by a Belgian company, and the cars, motors, and dynamos are Belgian, but some of the apparatus is from England, France, and Germany. So one of the oldest historical cities is now lit by electricity.

A legacy of two thousand dollars has been left to the Fund by Miss Mary Ropes of Salem, Mass., U.S.A., who had not been a subscriber, but was a friend of Professor Theodore Wright, our valued Hon. Secretary in America. He was, however, quite unaware of her intention. It is much to be hoped that this bequest may be handed over to the Society in time to assist the present excavations.

We understand that serious objection has been taken to the authenticity of the position of the inscribed stone relating to St. Stephen's Church, an account of which was given in the April *Quarterly Statement* by Mr. Spyridonidis. The stone itself is genuine, but is said to have been seen in another locality in 1904. In all probability more will be heard of the subject.

Dr. Selah Merrill is leaving Jerusalem shortly through promotion in the United States Consular Service. He is an enthusiastic student of Palestine, and has been a contributor to the *Quarterly Statement* from 1876 onwards. He will be greatly missed in Jerusalem, where he has made many friends, and his deep interest in the Fund has been manifested on many occasions.

Owing to the pressure of space the "Notice of Publications and Foreign Journals" has been unavoidably held over. P. Vincent's recently published *Canaan d'après l'Exploration Récente* is a wonderful piece of pioneering work, which will be indispensable for future students of ancient Palestinian history. We hope to publish a review of it in the next number. Prof. Montgomery's *The Samaritans, their History, Theology, and Literature*, which has just reached us, is another excellent work full of careful research and independent examination of the problems which this, the earliest

Jewish sect, furnish. Both books are necessary additions to the libraries of all interested in Palestine. M. l'Abbé Curtet sends us *La Terre Sainte*, a book consisting of excerpts from other books which illustrate the manners and customs of the Israelites. It is intended for "the practical study of the Bible;" it certainly contains numerous interesting extracts, and, considering its cheapness (only 2 fr. 50), ought to find a large sale. It is to be had direct from the author, and the profits will go to the furtherance of Catholic work in the Holy Land. (See also below, p. 173.)

"Golgotha and the Holy Sepulchre," the last work of the late Major-General Sir Charles Wilson, K.C.B., K.C.M.G., F.R.S., D.C.L., LL.D., etc., is now ready. In this work the late Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund has brought together for the first time all the evidence which the most exhaustive research enabled him to collect bearing on the subject of these Holy Sites; and probably no man living had at once so intimate a knowledge of all investigations in the modern Jerusalem and so complete an acquaintance with what has been written about the Sites from the time of Constantine onwards. The price of the work (demy 8vo) is 6*s.*, by post 6*s.* 4*d.*, and cheques should be made payable to the order of George Armstrong, Acting Secretary to the Fund, and crossed "Coutts & Co."

The first edition of Mr. Macalister's work, "Bible Sidelights from the Mounds of Gezer," is already sold out, and a second edition is now on sale. It has been written to show how the results of digging in Palestine should appeal not only to the scientific anthropologist or archæologist but also to the Bible student who has no special interest in these sciences. The book contains a brief synopsis of the work of the Fund from its foundation to the present and a description of the site of Gezer, and its history.

The *Painted Tombs of Marissa*, recently published by the Fund, is now recognized as a very important contribution to the history and archæology of Palestine in the last centuries before our era. It may be mentioned that the leaflet containing the result of the investigations by Mr. Macalister at the Tombs has been published, and can be had on application to the Acting Secretary by those who possess the volume.

It may be well to mention that plans and photographs alluded to in the reports from Jerusalem and elsewhere cannot all be published, but they are preserved in the office of the Fund, where they may be seen by subscribers. Those which are sent by Mr. Macalister, illustrating the excavations at Gezer and which are not reproduced in his quarterly reports, have been held over for the final memoir.

The attention of subscribers and others is called to *A Table of the Christian and Mohammedan Eras*, from July 15th, A.D. 622, the date of the Hejira, to A.D. 1900; price by post, 7*d*. Also to the *Meteorological Observations at Jerusalem*, with tables and diagrams by the late Mr. James Glaisher, F.R.S. Tourists and all desirous of accurate information about the climate of Jerusalem should not fail to send for a copy, price 2*s*. 6*d*.

The attention of subscribers is also called to a work by Sir Charles Warren, entitled "The Ancient Cubit and our Weights and Measures." He brings evidence to show that all weights and measures (except those of the metrical system) are derived from one source—the double-cubit cubed of Babylonia.

The Museum and Library of the Palestine Exploration Fund at Jerusalem are in the Bishop's Buildings, near the Tombs of the Kings, where the use of a room has been kindly permitted by the Rev. Dr. Blyth, Bishop in Jerusalem and the East. The Museum is open daily, except Sundays, and the Honorary Secretary, Dr. D'Erf Wheeler, will give all information necessary.

The "Flora of Syria, Palestine, and Sinai," by the Rev. George E. Post, M.D., Beirût, Syria, containing descriptions of all the Phaenogams and Acrogens of the region, and illustrated by 441 woodcuts, may be had at the office of the Fund, price 21*s*.

The income of the Society from March 19th to June 24th, 1907, was—from Annual Subscriptions and Donations, including Local Societies, £386 10*s*. 10*d*.; from sales of publications, &c., £54 5*s*. 2*d*.; making in all, £440 16*s*. 0*d*. The expenditure during the same period was £590 4*s*. 7*d*. On June 24th the balance in the bank was £232 12*s*. 11*d*.

Subscribers who have not yet paid will greatly facilitate the Committee's efforts by sending their subscriptions in early, and thus save the expense of sending out reminders, as the outgoings on the excavations at Gezer will be a heavy drain on the funds. The special donations during the quarter have been received from :—

Miss Gould	$500·00		
Walter Morrison, Esq.	£20	0	0
James Hilton, Esq.	£10	0	0
James Melrose, Esq.	£5	0	0
Mrs. Cudworth	£5	0	0

Subscribers to the Fund are reminded that, whilst the receipt of every subscription and contribution is promptly acknowledged by the Acting Secretary, they are now published annually, and not quarterly. A complete List of Subscribers and Subscriptions for 1906 was published with the April number.

Subscribers in U.S.A. to the work of the Fund will please note that they can procure copies of any of the publications from the Rev. Professor Theo. F. Wright, Honorary General Secretary to the Fund, 42, Quincy Street, Cambridge, Mass.

The Committee will be glad to communicate with ladies and gentlemen willing to help the Fund as Honorary Secretaries.

Subscribers and others may be reminded that the new Raised Map of Palestine, constructed from the Surveys of the Palestine Exploration Fund by the Acting Secretary, is ready. It is on the scale of $6\frac{1}{4}$ miles to the inch and measures $3'\ 6'' \times 2'\ 6''$. It has already been used with great success by Professors of Old Testament history, and by teachers in Sunday Schools, and may be especially recommended for large classes of students. On view at the office of the Fund ; further particulars may be had on application.

In order to make up complete sets of the *Quarterly Statement*, the Committee will be very glad to receive any back numbers which subscribers do not wish to preserve.

A complete set of the *Quarterly Statements*, 1869–1905, containing the early letters, with an Index, 1869–1892, bound in the Palestine

Exploration Fund cases, can be had. Price on application to the Acting Secretary, 38, Conduit Street, W.

Subscribers of one guinea and upwards will please note that they can still obtain a set, consisting of the "Survey of Eastern Palestine" (Colonel Conder); "Archæological Researches in Palestine," in two volumes (Clermont-Ganneau); "Flora and Fauna of Sinai, Petra, and the Wady 'Arabah" (Hart), for £7 7*s*., but the price has been increased to the public to £9 9*s*. The price of single volumes to the public has also been increased. Applications should be made to the Acting Secretary.

The price of a complete set of the translations published by the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, in 13 volumes, with general index, bound in cloth, is £10 10*s*. A catalogue describing the contents of each volume can be had on application to the Secretary, 38, Conduit Street, W.

The Museum at the office of the Fund, 38, Conduit Street (a few doors from Bond Street), is open to visitors every week-day from 10 o'clock till 5, except Saturdays, when it is closed at 2 p.m.

Photographs of the late Dr. Schick's models (1) of the Temple of Solomon, (2) of the Herodian Temple, (3) of the Haram Area and Justinian's Church, and (4) of the Haram Area as it is at present, have been received at the office of the Fund. The four photographs, with an explanation by Dr. Schick, can be purchased by applying to the Acting Secretary, 38, Conduit Street, W.

Branch Associations of the Bible Society, all Sunday Schools within the Sunday School Institute, the Sunday School Union, and the Wesleyan Sunday School Institute, will please observe that by a special Resolution of the Committee they will henceforth be treated as subscribers and be allowed to purchase the books and maps (by application only to the Secretary) at reduced prices.

The Committee acknowledge with thanks the following :—

"Études Bibliques: Canaan d'après l'Exploration Récente." By P. Hugues Vincent.

"The Samaritans, the earliest Jewish Sect; their history, theology, and literature." Prof. J. A. Montgomery (Philadelphia).

"La Terre-Sainte, autrefois, par aujourd'hui; Études de mœurs et documents divers pour l'étude pratique de la Bible, tirés des auteurs les plus compétents, recueillis et mis en ordre" By the Abbé Curtet (aumônier à Groissiat, par Martignat, Ain). Price 2 fr. 50 ("au profit des Œuvres Catholiques de Terre-Sainte").

"Palaestina: Organ für die wirtschaftliche und kulturelle Erschliessung des Landes," 1907.

"Jérusalem, Publication Mensuelle Illustrée," March, 1907.

NEA ΣΙΩΝ, January, March, 1907.

"Al-Mashrik: Revue Catholique Orientale Bimensuelle." "Causeries géographiques sur la Syrie," by P. H. Lammens; "Monographie du Liban," by Mr. Em. Khacho; etc., etc.

The Committee will be glad to receive donations of Books to the Library of the Fund, which already contains many works of great value relating to Palestine and other Bible lands. A catalogue of Books in the Library will be found in the July *Quarterly Statement*, 1893.

For list of authorised lecturers and their subjects, *see* end of the Journal, or write to the Secretary.

Whilst desiring to give publicity to proposed identifications and other theories advanced by officers of the Fund and contributors to the pages of the *Quarterly Statement*, the Committee wish it to be distinctly understood that by publishing them in the *Quarterly Statement* they do not necessarily sanction or adopt them.

Form of Bequest to the Palestine Exploration Fund.

I give to the Palestine Exploration Fund, London, the sum of _____ to be applied towards the General Work of the Fund; and I direct that the said sum be paid, free of Legacy Duty, and that the Receipt of the Treasurer of the Palestine Exploration Fund shall be a sufficient discharge to my Executors.

*Signature*_____

Witnesses _____

_____

_____

NOTE.—*Three Witnesses are necessary in the United States of America. Two suffice in Great Britain.*

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

The Forty-Second Annual General Meeting of the above Fund was held at the Royal Institution, Albemarle Street, W., on Wednesday, June 26th, 1907. The Rt. Rev. The Lord Bishop of Winchester presided. There was a large attendance.

The Chairman.—I will ask the Honorary Secretary to read the letters.

The Hon. Secretary read letters of regret at inability to be present from the following:—The Rev. Dr. Horton, Prof. Petrie, Mr. Pollard, the Rev. Dr. William Henry Rogers, Mr. MacDonald, Mr. James Melrose, the Dean of Ely, the Rev. Dr. Montague Butler, Dr. Löwy, Sir Charles Warren, Prof. George Adam Smith, Mr. Morrison, the Rev. Dr. Buchanan Grey, and the Rev. Prof. Sayce.

The Chairman.—The first business is a resolution which I have pleasure in proposing:—That the Report and Accounts already printed and in the hands of subscribers be taken as read, and that they be received and adopted.

Dr. Aldis Wright.—I have great pleasure in seconding that.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

The Hon. Secretary.—I regret to have to announce that since the last Meeting the General Committee has suffered loss by the death of Mr. John Dickson, the Rev. Canon Tristram, and the Earl of Cranbrook.

Rev. Canon Dalton.—I have to propose that the following gentlemen be added to the General Committee: The Rev. Canon Duckworth, C.V.O.; Colonel Sir Henry Trotter, K.C.M.G., C.B., R.E.; the Rev. Prof. Francis Brown; Peter Gellatly, Esq.

The resolution was seconded by Colonel Philpotts, R.E., and carried unanimously.

Rev. H. G. Munro.—Ladies and Gentlemen,—I beg to move: That the Executive Committee be re-elected, and that Colonel Sir Henry Trotter be invited to serve thereon. I have very great

pleasure in moving this resolution, and I have no doubt it will be carried.

The resolution was seconded by the Rev. Willoughby Carter, and carried unanimously.

The Chairman.—Now I have very great pleasure in calling upon Sir Charles Watson to give us a description of the recent excavations, which he will illustrate for us by means of lantern slides.

Sir Charles Watson.—My Lord, Ladies and Gentlemen,—The majority of people here understand fully the objects of the Palestine Exploration Fund, which was founded just forty-two years ago last Saturday. It was initiated at a Meeting held in London that year (1865) under the Presidency of the Archbishop of York, and its special object was to elucidate our knowledge of the Bible. Up to that time, though the Bible had been read for so many hundreds of years, very little was really known of the scientific history, geography, and natural history of Palestine, and this Society was started with the intention of throwing light upon those very important subjects. The principles upon which it was based were threefold. First, that everything that was done by the Society was to be done in a perfectly scientific manner, so that no one might query the reports; secondly, that it should be in no sense a religious Society; and thirdly, that the Committee of the Society should have no ideas of their own, so to speak; their object was simply to find hard facts in Palestine for other people to criticise and for other people to form theories upon; and I am thankful to say that for the whole of these forty-two years those principles have been rigidly adhered to. It is not necessary for me to refer to past explorations, those magnificent excavations at Jerusalem conducted by Sir Charles Warren, the work of Sir Charles Wilson, the great Survey conducted by Colonel Conder and Lord Kitchener, and many other investigations into the antiquities of the country. All I can do to-day is very briefly to tell you a little of the site which we are now exploring, and in the first place I think it would be advisable to make it clear where Gezer is. I am sometimes asked, "Where is Gezer?" "Why do you explore there?" "What interest has it for anybody?" And I would just like, my lord, to make a few remarks to explain why we went to Gezer, and why it is one of the most interesting sites that we could have selected for exploration.

To show you where it is I will begin with the map of Palestine. No doubt all of you are acquainted with the physical features of the country, how it lies between the Valley of the Jordan and the Mediterranean Sea, and how it consists of a ridge of hills running from north to south, then a ridge of lower hills, and finally the plains that border on the Mediterranean Sea. It is a country with a very long history, and our explorations have taken that history further back even than was thought. From time immemorial it has been inhabited; the original inhabitants were not a Semitic tribe, but, according to the investigations of Mr. Macalister, they were a cave-dwelling people, and they seem to have lived throughout this country until they were driven out by a Semitic invasion. The Semitic invasion seemed to be followed by several others. There are no less than three, if not four, different periods during which the Semites occupied this country. And besides that, there was another great invasion from the south. The Egyptians from at least the year 2000 B.C., if not before, were in the habit of passing along the western side of Palestine on their expeditions into Asia. Therefore, this country has been the scene of conflicts for many thousands of years. It is covered with a number of little hills or, as they are called, "tels," many of which have been the site of a city or town for a very long period. At present some of these, in fact a great many, cannot be explored because the existing village is on the top of the hill; but in certain cases the hills are separate from the modern village, so that the Palestine Exploration Fund has been able to dig into and unearth some of these tels. Two of these you will see marked on the map: one is a place called Tel el-Hesy, which is most probably the Lachish of the Book of Joshua, and the other is Gezer, which is the place where we are exploring at the present day. It is easy to see that this must have been a most important town. I think the first mention that we have of it is in a hieroglyphic inscription on the great Temple of Karnak. That part of the temple was built by Thothmes III—about 1600 B.C.—who was a great conqueror and a great general, and who invaded Mesopotamia and passed along by this road, and he in this inscription mentions the town of Gezer. Then it is mentioned afterwards in those most interesting documents, the Tel el-Amarna letters, which date from about 1450 B.C., and which are the correspondence from certain people in Asia and Palestine written to the officers of the kings of Egypt, who were their superior officers.

A number of those letters mention the town of Gezer, showing that at that time it was of very considerable importance. Then there is another reason why Gezer should be an interesting place to explore, and it is this, that it is one of the few places, if not the only one, in Palestine which is actually labelled with its name. Gezer was one of the Levitical cities, and probably from time immemorial the boundaries of those cities were marked so that people should know them. And in the case of the town of Gezer, Prof. Clermont-Ganneau was so fortunate as to find two inscriptions on the rocks on which the name of Gezer was definitely mentioned in ancient Hebrew characters. So that this was a place which was not only known historically from the documents, but which was also fixed accurately by the people who lived there at the time.

Sir Charles then proceeded to explain a series of lantern slides, illustrative of the recent explorations at Gezer, and concluded with the following remarks:

I would like to impress upon you the great importance of pushing on rapidly with the excavations at Gezer. The permit which his Majesty the Sultan has been good enough to grant us has a duration of two years only, and during these two years we ought to complete the exploration of this Tel. But whether we shall be able to do this depends upon the generosity of the British public. Work of this kind is necessarily costly on account of the number of men who have to be employed, and we want a sum of at least £1,000.

I hope that all who are present to-day will do what they can to assist us in raising this sum as soon as possible.

The CHAIRMAN, after thanking Sir Charles Watson for his interesting lecture, and for the lucid and admirable explanation of the slides, announced the following resolution: "That this Meeting offers its hearty encouragement to Mr. Stewart Macalister in the arduous work of excavation in which he is engaged." This he introduced with the following prefatory remarks upon the work of excavation in Palestine:—

"We have seen, from the slides, the kind of work in which Mr. Macalister is at present engaged. We have been told the great need there is that this work should be carried through, and we have also been told that there are only two more years to run. We are well aware that it is not very easy to obtain a permit from the Ottoman Government, and I am quite sure that all of us who are interested

in the Palestine Exploration Fund will hope that Mr. Macalister will be able to obtain the necessary support which will enable him to complete the most interesting and valuable work in which he is engaged. When I hear Mr. Macalister's name mentioned it takes me back, in my mind, to five-and-twenty years ago, when he was a little boy and lived in a house on the other side of the road where I lived at Cambridge. I had the honour of knowing his distinguished father, and one rejoices to feel that his son is adding distinction to a name already distinguished in the paths of science. But even in his early days, when quite a little lad, he was distinguished for his deep study in all matters of history and antiquarian research. Quite as a little lad he was a collector and classifier of objects of interest, and he has well fulfilled the promise which he then showed.

Well, now, let us in our thoughts go back for one moment to this work which has been already touched upon. I believe that as we look upon the nineteenth century and review the great works of science that were carried out in that century, we shall have good reason for regarding the work done by the Palestine Exploration Fund as one of the most creditable of the scientific researches carried on during that century, for its patience, its thoroughness, and for its exactitude. As was so well told by Sir Charles Watson, the principles of the Exploration Fund have been strictly scientific from the very first, and the great men who have carried out these principles have carried them out in the most patient and scientific spirit. Well, science can only be carried on by the most deliberate patience, by accuracy, and by the accumulation of minute details. Without being in any sort of hurry to draw conclusions, the minute results have been collected in different parts all over Palestine, and inferences have been slowly and perseveringly drawn, and it is those inferences which, to our delighted minds, are conveying so much illustration to our study of Holy Scripture. We feel that the Palestine Exploration Fund is benefiting the cause of science all round, promoting the study of history, throwing light upon the study of geography, and, above all, throwing light upon the study of Holy Scripture, and, therefore, it makes a special appeal to the sympathy and support of all those to whom the study of Holy Scripture is dear.

Well, I think that no Annual Meeting ought to take place without a reference to the great men whose lives have been spent

in connection with this most interesting work. I suppose that many of us, as we look back upon former years, can say that amongst the most honoured and distinguished names in the field of literature and of science will rank the names of those who have been connected with Palestine exploration; the names of Warren, and of Wilson, and of Clermont-Ganneau will always take a most leading position in our recollections of intensely interesting literature from the point of view of Biblical study. Those of us who have read the Reports that have been issued by the Fund know also what familiar names are the names of those who have been the regular and patient and most interesting contributors to the Journal: names like those of Bliss and Schumacher and that very scientific and careful observer, Mr. Glaisher, and also Mr. Post. In more recent times we have had the contributions of distinguished men like Prof. Petrie and Mr. Dickie, and, more recently, Mr. Macalister; and we hope that the names of Petrie and Macalister are not going to terminate the list of great explorers and excavators. I suppose that one of the questions which the friends of the Fund sometimes ask themselves is: Will there be found in the twentieth century men as distinguished, as zealous, as keen in this cause as the men of the nineteenth century? Enthusiasm for such a purpose in the interests of the Fund and of Biblical research ought not to die down in the twentieth century. When we have so much upon which to stand, and so much excavation and patient work in the nineteenth century, there is good reason for the students of the twentieth century to continue and to promote the interests of this most valuable department of work.

Now I have been privileged to see Mr. Macalister's recently published *Bible Side-Lights from the Mound of Gezer*, and if anyone were wise enough to make themselves possessors of this book, they will be able to read at leisure the full account of the excavations of this marvellous ancient Mound, the description of which, in summary and detail, has been given in such eloquent and interesting terms by Sir Charles Watson. The book is most readable and most luxuriously got up, and it is very easy to read. My opportunities of reading, leisurely, books of this kind are very few, but I read this in the train during the last two days in going about in my diocese, and I can recommend it as a book written in a delightfully easy style, with brief descriptions, and in a most interesting manner and abundantly illustrated, so that we can look

from the letterpress to the illustrations and find our curiosity satisfied. Some of the pictures upon which you have feasted your eyes are to be found in this book, and there are several other pictures besides. Therefore, I suggest to you that, as your curiosity has been whetted, you had better take the opportunity of satiating it by studying this book. In this book you have an account of these cave-dwellers. To me this discovery of the cave-dwellers has been enormously interesting, throwing light upon the prehistoric dwellers in Palestine, about whom many guesses have been made. Of course scholars are bound to make guesses when they have no material to work upon; sometimes they are correct, sometimes incorrect, and it is a very good thing that every now and then the guesses of the scholars should prove incorrect, and they should feel a little humility when they make another guess. Here you are told of the Horites, who have always been supposed to be the troglodites, and we found them under a town of Palestine. We also supposed they lived rather to the south, but it is interesting to find that the cave-dwellers had their dwellings in towns quite far to the north of what has been supposed. I daresay when we come to investigate in future days other towns and tels and mounds, we shall find at the bottom of these three or four stages of city-dwellings, and on the native rock more remains of these cave-dwellers. Then it is very interesting to have this succession of towns; we have become accustomed to find succession of towns in antiquity. When Troy was excavated people were amazed first of all to hear that there had been something like ten different towns piled one on the other. Here we have these three or four one on top of another in a comparatively small place like Gezer. But you will find here in the book why it is these stones are piled one on the top of the other. The houses were composed of loosely put together stones, cemented together by mud and clay, and when the house fell into ruin through assault or from heavy storms, the stones collapsed and the earth fell in and made a little mound where there had been a house. The next man did not want the trouble of excavating foundations, so he built his house on the former one. So you very often get one street piled upon another. You have heard an account of what the towns were like, how very narrow their streets were; in fact there were hardly any streets in the strict sense, but simply a rabbit warren of small houses and habitations in close contiguity. The houses were put together without any order at all. Therefore,

when one house fell, another fell, and heaps of ruins were quickly produced at the time of any great political overthrow. Next, what struck me as being of such great interest was this reference to the iniquity of the Amorites, namely, the child murders, the massacres of a religious kind that were perpetuated in High Places, and probably in close connection with those upright pillars of which we have this most interesting and unique example. These stone pillars, I suppose, were always to be found in those early times, in the days of the Israelites, in close vicinity to the place of sacrifice. At Gezer, however, we have this splendid instance of an example of undisturbed pillars with the remains of the old sacrifices; the ashes and the bones have been discovered in heaps in the immediate neighbourhood. I do not suppose that any description that has been obtained, throwing light on the iniquity of the polytheism and idolatry of those early times, has ever been found to compare with that which has been laid bare by Mr. Macalister in his researches at Gezer. Now, I must not protract what I have to say, but I should like to point out one short chapter—the chapters are so short, you can read through them very quickly—in which he refers to the dying deed of Samson. We have all wondered how Samson could have been able by the effort of his enormous muscular power to overthrow the temple of the Philistines. Mr. Macalister points out how it was possible, and how the temples in those days were constructed; that the columns were not as we have supposed—and of course our suppositions are based upon those pictures upon which we fed our eager eyes when we were children—and that the temples were not in those days made, like Ionic or Doric temples, with huge stone columns, but were made with columns of wood which rested on little stumps of stone. Well, the stumps of stone are found in his temple, and upon those stumps of stone stood the high wooden columns which supported first of all the portico. Then there was the main temple behind, and poor Samson was made to show forth his strength and play his antics in the front, and when they had wearied him out, they brought him forward to rest himself against the wooden columns which held up the portico, behind which stood or sat all the nobles of Philistia Above the portico were the common people who, in that position, had a good view of the big man as he was performing his feats of strength, but were exposed to all the heat of the sun in a less favoured position than the nobles who were sitting under the

portico. And so the great man was able to rest both his arms upon these two columns and by an immense effort of strength he pulled the two wooden columns together, and, of course, as soon as they were moved off their stone stump on which they rested, down would come the portico with all the weight of the people overhead. You will find all this fully described in Mr. Macalister's chapter. Certainly it throws light upon the way in which the writer of the story supposed that Samson was able to perpetrate his wonderful dying feat of strength. Now I have said more than enough to excite your interest in this book, and, if possible, to stimulate your interest in the most valuable work that is being done at Gezer by the Palestine Exploration Fund; and I am sure what we have seen to-day and what we have heard from Sir Charles Watson will persuade you all to support me in this resolution I am proposing that this Meeting offers its hearty encouragement to Mr. Macalister. We are delighted that he has been able to find so much, and we feel certain if he is able to continue the work there remains much more which will throw still further light on the pages of Scripture and on the records of ancient history."

The resolution was carried by acclamation.

Dr. GINSBURG.—My Lord, Ladies and Gentlemen,—The resolution I have to propose is that a Vote of Thanks be given to the Institution for affording us this noble edifice in which to hold our Meeting. We have held our Meetings here several times, and a more comfortable place we could hardly have to listen to such remarkable results of our excavations in Palestine.

The resolution was seconded by Mr. DICKIE, and carried unanimously.

Sir CHARLES WATSON.—My Lord, I would ask your leave to propose a resolution that I am sure will be received with the greatest unanimity by everybody present. It is to thank your Lordship for having been so good, notwithstanding your numerous engagements, as to come and preside over us on this occasion. I beg to move a sincere Vote of Thanks to the Lord Bishop of Winchester for having taken the chair.

The HON. SECRETARY.—Perhaps I may be allowed to second that resolution, which requires no addition.

The resolution was carried unanimously and the proceedings then terminated.

FOURTEENTH QUARTERLY REPORT ON THE EXCAVATION OF GEZER.

First of the Second Series.

18 *March*—9 *May*, 1907.

By R. A. Stewart Macalister, M.A., F.S.A.

Preliminary.

Early in November of last year I landed in Palestine, and almost immediately proceeded to Constantinople to inquire into the progress of the negotiations for the new permit for the resumption of work at Gezer. While in Constantinople, I had opportunities of attempting to extend an interest in the work of the Fund, by lecturing at Robert College, and at the American College for Girls at Scutari.

I have to express my acknowledgments of the friendly courtesy with which Their Excellencies Hamdy and Khalil Bey received me in the magnificent museum under their control. I must also acknowledge the interest of the officials of His Majesty's Embassy, especially Mr. Fitzmaurice, who was in charge of the negotiations. Last, but not least, I have to render my cordial thanks to the Fund's staunch friend, Mr. Edwin Pears, for much help and kindness.

After finishing business in Constantinople I returned to Jerusalem, and a few days later set off for Ṣafed—a diary of my visit there was contributed to the last *Quarterly Statement*.[1]

[1] This contribution was shortened to reduce it to the available space, and in the process one or two errors have slipped in. I may be allowed to indicate the three principal places where misunderstanding is possible. On p. 95, line 19, *for* "remains, except" *read* "remains. There is." On p. 103, in the title of the figure, *for* "fine" *read* "firm." On p. 116, line 6 from bottom, *for* "ruin above described" *read* "ruin on the hill-top"—the description referred to not having been printed.

Towards the end of February I heard that the permit was shortly to be issued. Soon afterwards it was actually in my hands. A week or two had to be spent in necessary preparations and certain official routine, but as soon as possible I made my way to the mound.

I am happy to report that I found it exactly as I left it, no harm having come to any of the buildings that were left open at the close of the previous permit. This is to a large extent due to Mr. Murad's friendly care and interest. It is a matter for satisfaction that Surraya Effendi Al-Khalidi, who during the previous permit showed himself ready to further the interests of the Fund in every way possible, consistently with a scrupulous performance of his own duties as Commissioner of the Ottoman Government, has been re-appointed to the same office.

The actual work of excavation began March 18th, and, except for a couple of days at Easter, has been continued uninterruptedly. The weather has been propitious, although hot south and east winds have been prevalent and on some days made exertion not a little laborious. I have this time made a new departure, and built a hut to take the place of the tents in which the excavating party was formerly domiciled. On all grounds—comfort, economy, stability, and security—the change has been found an improvement.

It may be remembered that just at the close of the previous permit three remarkable tombs were found, which for various reasons I suggested might possibly be referable to the Philistines. I hoped that these might prove to be the outlying tombs of a cemetery, which, if it were actually Philistine, could not fail to afford results of the highest importance. The ground north, south, and east of these tombs was left uncut at the end of the permit. I immediately commenced at this promising spot, and ran a trench north of the tombs to the border of the mound: nothing, however, was found in that direction. A pit was then dug to the south of these, and two more tombs of the series were there found. Excavations are now proceeding to the east, but at the moment of writing the level of the graves has not been reached.

One pit has also been dug on the Eastern Hill.

As usual, in looking for one thing, another has been discovered. The trench cut northward from the tombs was found to contain an interesting foundation, apparently that of a Canaanite palace or fortress. Beneath it was another of the very early caves which

have been such a notable feature of the mound of Gezer. The most interesting "find" from the Eastern Hill has been a small stone altar (see below, p. 196).

On the whole, however, the objects discovered during the last two months have been of an "average" character.

I.—Troglodyte Cave (No. I).

Just north of the "Philistine" graves was found the entrance to a small rock-cut chamber, which proved to be connected with others by doorways and passages. The plan is hardly worth publishing at present: it consists of a series of seven more or less circular chambers in a row. There are two entrances, one at each end: the southern is a circular roof-hole; the northern entrance, which admits to the largest chamber, is the most remarkable part of this otherwise not very interesting excavation. It is of the ordinary staircase form, such as nearly all these early cave-dwellings show; but it differs from all the others found hitherto in having a double staircase cut in the rock, radiating like the arms of a Y. Near it is an olive-press cut in the rock. At a period datable by the associated objects to the XIXth Egyptian Dynasty, the chamber to which this northern stairway gives access was discovered by well-sinkers, and deepened to about 19 feet below the level of the rock in order to serve as a cistern. This unfortunate accident, it will be remembered, had also occurred in the case of the great cave discovered on the Western Hill in 1905: and it will be seen to have occurred again in the case of the other cave which remains to be described in the present report. Of course if there were any deposits of value belonging to the earlier users of the cave, they naturally were all pillaged by the cistern-diggers. As a matter of fact, except some trifling fragments of pottery, nothing was found in the chambers.

The cistern, however, contained some interesting objects, chief of which was a fragment of an alabaster vase bearing the name of Rameses II. There was also one of the common plaques with 'Ashtoreth figured in relief upon it. The pottery was essentially identical with that found in the fourth city at Tel el Hesy, parallels having been found for nearly all the vessels on Plate IV of Bliss (*Mound of Many Cities*) and Fig. 174 of the same work. A plate has been drawn showing all these contemporary types, but it need not yet be published.

FIG. 1.—Rock Surface above Cave II.

II.—Troglodyte Cave (No. II).

Some distance north of this cave was found another, of much greater interest, although the deposits within it could not compare in importance with those found in the cave on the Western Hill. The first point to notice about it is the large number of entrances with which it is provided. This is well shown by the photographic view (Fig. 1) which represents the rock-surface just above.

In the foreground will be seen three holes, which are pierced through the roof at the southern end of the chamber; the crane behind these is erected over another; the gangway, across which one of the women is walking, spans a fifth; there is a sixth behind the freshly heaped pile of earth to the left of the picture; and just under the nearest of the old walls in the background is another perforation in the roof. From the chamber into which all these holes open a tunnel runs northward to a second chamber; where this tunnel meets the second chamber the roof has fallen in, making an opening, over which the second crane is erected. There is, however, an independent entrance to this second chamber, over which will be seen a beam supporting a pulley in the background, to the right. The photograph is taken from the south, and looks slightly west of north over the plain of Sharon.

There is also a tunnel running westward from the principal chamber, connecting this system with another group of two chambers that had been discovered some time ago (now covered by the "dump-heap" to the left in Fig. 1). I suspect that this connexion is accidental: the hole by which the tunnel enters the previously discovered system is so small, and so high up in the wall, that it escaped notice when the chamber into which it opens was cleared out.

The appearance of the interior of the principal chamber—which is entered most easily by a flight of rock-cut steps beneath the gangway in Fig. 1, already mentioned—will be realized by an examination of Fig. 2, to which I beg to draw attention.

This photograph is looking southward from just inside the stepped entrance, so that the bright light in the background of the picture will be understood to be coming through the three openings in the foreground of Fig. 1. It will be noticed that the cave is divided into two approximately equal parts by a broad ridge on the floor (which I have indicated by the word "Ridge" and by

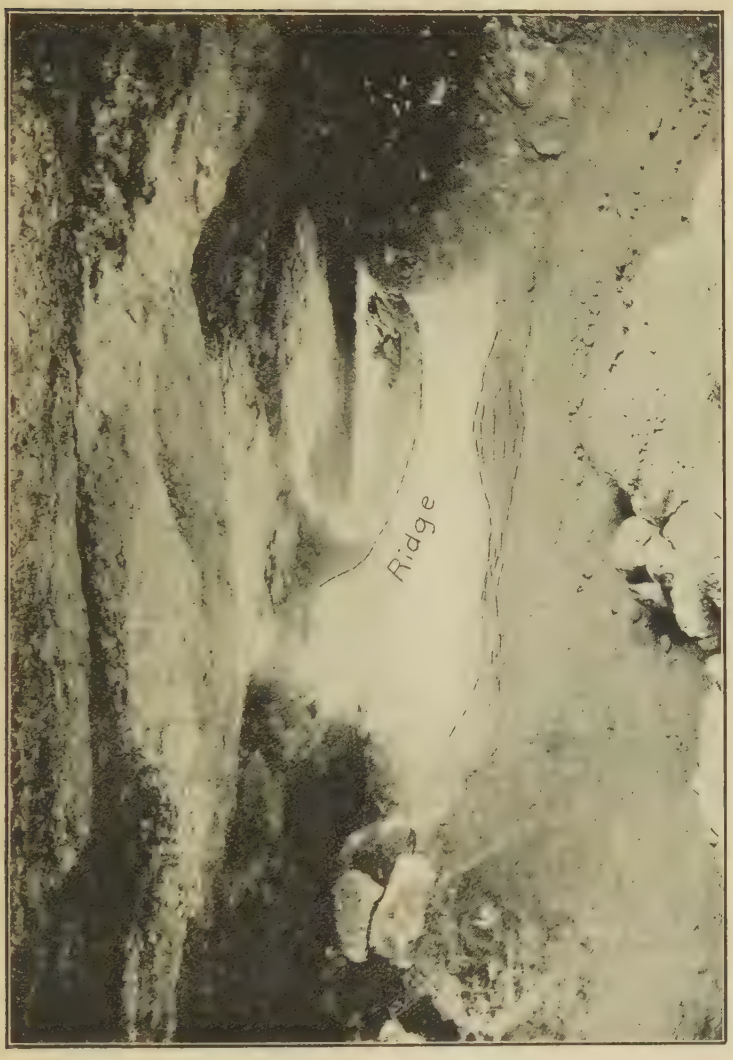


FIG. 2.—Interior of the Cave.

emphasizing its outline). It was noteworthy that Troglodyte pottery was found on the floor of each of the subdivisions, but *not* on the floor of the ridge—which, being between 5 and 6 feet in breadth, is not an insignificant area. On the other hand, the later pottery by which, as we shall see, the Cave-dwellers' remains were overlaid, was deposited on the ridge equally with the two divisions on each side of it. This suggests to me that in Troglodyte times the cave was two independent chambers with separate entrances, and that in the First Semitic period the partition between them was quarried away, leaving only its base.

Fig. 3.—Bowl from Troglodyte Cave.

The history of this cave was exactly the same as that of others which have occupied our attention from time to time. The excavation was originally a dwelling-place of the pre-Semitic Troglodytes. The pottery found on its floor was of the same type as that associated with the *burnt* remains in the Crematorium (see *Quarterly Statement*, October, 1902, Plate 9): I need not therefore describe it here at length. I must not, however, omit to notice an exceptionally fine bowl, 8 inches high, 10 inches across, represented in Fig. 3. It is of the yellow-brown, porous, gritty ware characteristic of the

Troglodyte vessels, is made without the potter's wheel, and has a spout (now broken) and two ledge-handles. It is ornamented in a way almost exclusively distinctive of the Troglodyte pottery—with a white wash of lime-cream or some similar substance, on which are roughly painted groups of vertical red lines. With the pottery were throwing-stones, no doubt stored for ammunition in case of an unwelcome intruder (human or animal) entering the cave; and the usual flint knives.

Secondly, the cave was adapted as a burial-place in the First Semitic period[1]: and a large quantity of pottery was then deposited in it, as well as one or two other things. A considerable number of wine-jars were placed in the cave. That they were deposited with wine in them was indicated by two things—first, they were standing upright; and secondly, inside almost every one of them was found a small jug. This obviously had been placed to serve as a dipper, floating on the surface of the wine: as the fluid dwindled, through the porosity of the jar, the dipper gradually sank to the bottom.

Beside the pottery, there were found one or two pins and knives of bronze; a quartzite mace-head; a pile of slips of ivory and of porcelain, much broken, which had evidently been used for inlaying in some [wooden ?] object that had completely perished; and, perhaps most remarkable of all, three ostrich eggs. The latter had evidently been deposited as offerings with the deceased buried in the cave.

Thirdly, the cave, after being closed and forgotten, was rediscovered by cistern-diggers. No doubt if gold and silver, or other precious objects, had been deposited with the dead in this cave (as in the contemporary and otherwise similar cave on the Western Hill), they were then appropriated by the discoverers, who left only the pottery and rusty bronze, to them valueless, for the benefit of their successor about 3200 years later. For the pottery found in the cistern which these intruders dug was sufficiently distinctive to date their work about the thirteenth century B.C. The cave itself was unsuitable for a water-store; they therefore sunk the cistern as a deep excavation in the floor, and built up a shaft through the cave chamber—ruins of which remained—from the mouth of the cistern to the opening in the roof, for which they were responsible. This opening is that over which the crane nearest

[1] For an explanation of this term see a later section.

to the spectator in Fig. 1 is erected. I ought to have mentioned that, of the three roof-openings in the foreground of the same figure, the circular one to the back was not in the original design of the cave. It was evidently cut with the intention of making a vat for an olive-press, but the depression was incautiously deepened too much, and so broke through to the cave below.

III.—The Canaanite Castle.

In the background of Fig. 1 will be seen a number of walls, or rather the foundations of walls, erected over the cave which has

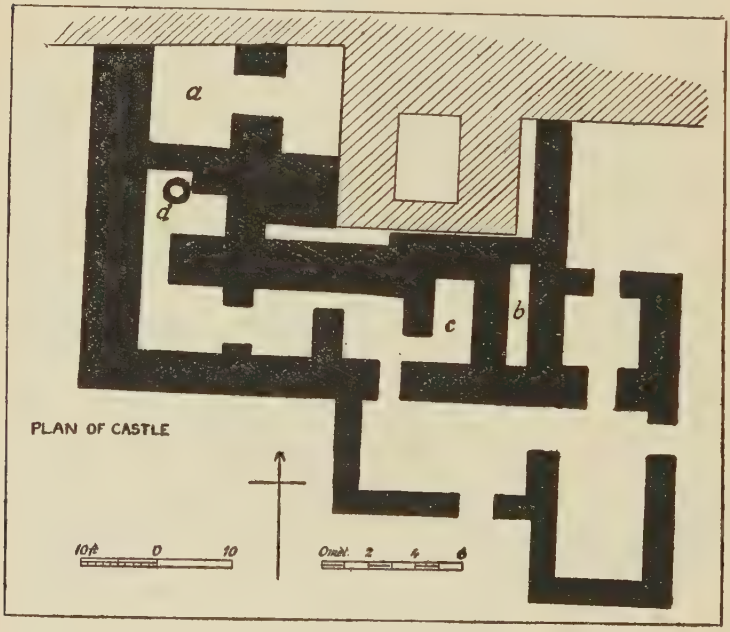


Fig. 4.—Plan of Castle.

just been described. These walls are not built directly on the rock: there is an accumulation of two to three feet below them, containing the foundations of yet older buildings. The few indications of date which the objects found in and about this building afforded pointed to the thirteenth century B.C. as its approximate period.

It was evident that the building stood in the city, probably as an open ruin, for all the later centuries of its history. For this

reason no later walls (except the insignificant remains of a hut or two of the Maccabean period) were found above its level. The derelict condition in which the so-called "Goliath's Castle" at Jerusalem remained (until its comparatively recent adaptation into the basement of the *École des Frères*) is exactly comparable with the fate of this building. So probably was the fate of the "House of Baal" at Samaria.

This unfortunate circumstance sufficiently accounts for the fact that in a building evidently so important practically nothing was found. One corner of the building had been uncovered so long ago

FIG. 5.—Fragment of ornamental stone found in the Castle.

as October, 1902, and in the chamber *a* (Plan, Fig. 4) a number of objects were then found—two fine axe-heads and a spear-head of bronze, some fragments of pottery, a three-legged stone dish, and an alabaster vase, together with a nondescript fragment of stone ornament. This is represented in Fig. 5. It is a block of a polished green stone, resembling serpentine, $4\frac{1}{4}$ inches long, $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches high, and $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches thick. On one side is a sunk panel containing a number of incised chevrons. A line is drawn across the other side and round the fractured edge.

The rest of the building was practically entirely destitute of antiquities.

In the absence of any indication as to the personality of the first occupant of this castle, which is certainly the most elaborate residence yet found in Gezer, it would be undesirable to indulge overmuch in fantastic speculations. So all I will venture to say about an idea that has crossed my own mind is this: that if anyone chose to maintain that this was the dwelling-place of the king Horam who rashly opposed himself to Joshua at Lachish,[1] he might reasonably claim that the date and the evident importance of the building were points in his favour, and that nothing to oppose his view has yet been unearthed here or elsewhere on the mound. While saying this I must, however, make quite clear that such an identification is mere guess-work: there is this possibility, but that is all that can be said. Personally, I am inclined to hope that it is *not* the palace of Horam, or of any other king, for if it were, the chance of finding an undisturbed royal library would be diminished!

The plan sent herewith (Fig. 4) shows how the building was laid out. The inner city wall[2]—which is at least a thousand years older than the castle, and had already been superseded by the outer wall when the castle was built—was adapted as the north side of the structure. It is built round one of the internal towers of this wall, as the plan shows. There is little to call for notice in the plan, which speaks for itself. The comparative regularity with which the walls are laid out is the first point that attracts attention. Another point is the great thickness of the walls, which ranges from 3 feet 3 inches to 9 feet—the latter is the greatest thickness of any wall yet found in the *tell*, with the exception, of course, of the city ramparts themselves. There are no architectural details calling for attention—not a scrap of ornamental stone of any kind was found, except the stone Fig. 5, which is evidently a part of some small object, and has nothing to do with the architecture of the building. No means of approach to the narrow chamber, *b*, is visible. I suspect that there was a doorway from *c*, but the partition wall is ruined to below its threshold. The same suggestion may be made respecting a doorway from *d* to *a*. The circular structure in *d* is probably a hearth. A general photographic view of the foundations will be found in Fig. 6.

East of the castle there seems to have been a large open court-yard, which probably belongs to it; but, as I am not altogether certain on this point, I have omitted it from the plan.

[1] Joshua x, 33.

[2] Represented by a *hatched* line on the plan.

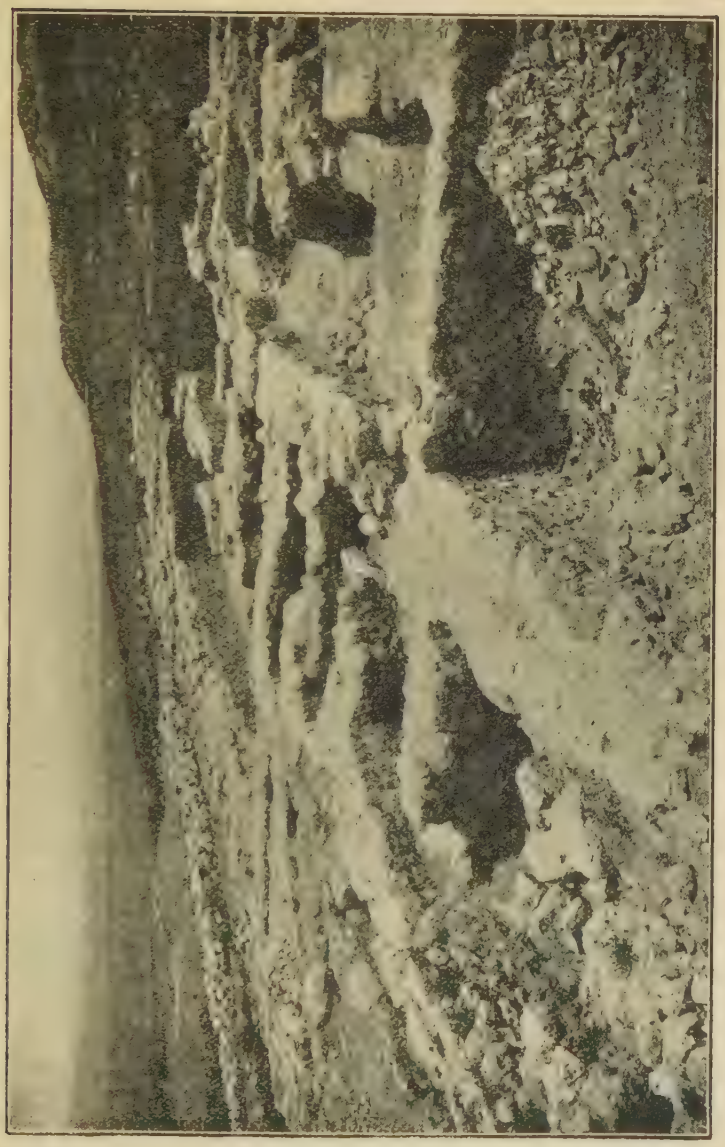


FIG. 6.—View of the Foundations of the Castle.

IV.—The Altar.

This very interesting object (Fig. 7) was found built into the foundation of a wall dating about 600 B.C. It appears to have been used merely as a building-stone.

It is a four-sided block of limestone, 1 foot 3 inches high.

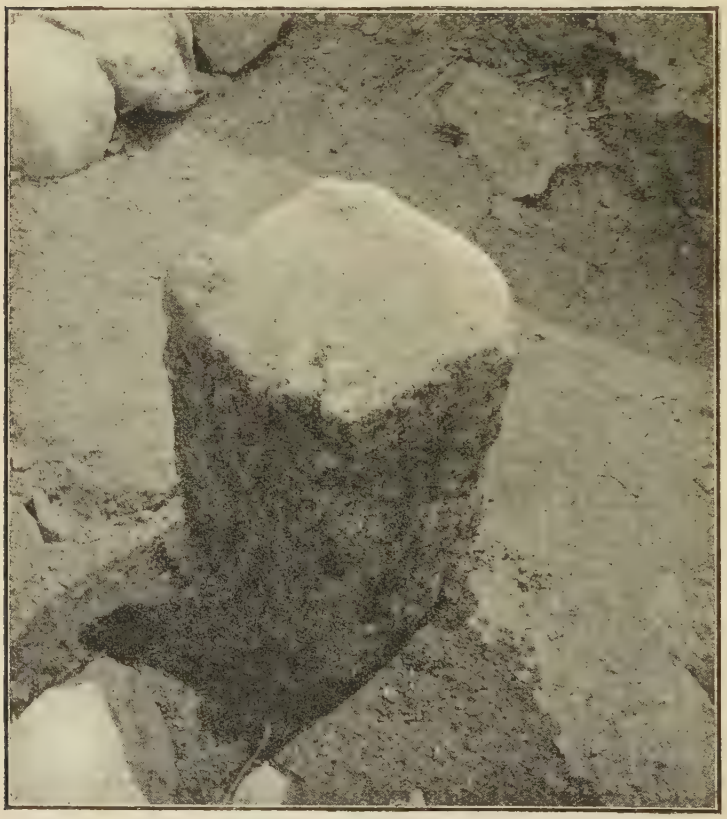


Fig. 7.—Stone Altar.

The top and bottom are approximately $10\frac{1}{2}$ and 9 inches square respectively; but these are only the average dimensions of the sides, which are not regularly cut.

The angles are prolonged upwards for an additional $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches as rounded knobs—no doubt the "horns" of the altar. The top is

very slightly concave, so as to hold perhaps an eighth of a pint of liquid.

Unfortunately there is no inscription or device of any sort on the sides of the stone.

V.—The Graves.

The new graves of the "Philistine" series resemble those previously found. The first is a built enclosure, 6 feet $9\frac{7}{8}$ inches long, 2 feet $4\frac{3}{4}$ inches broad, and 4 feet 3 inches deep. It was

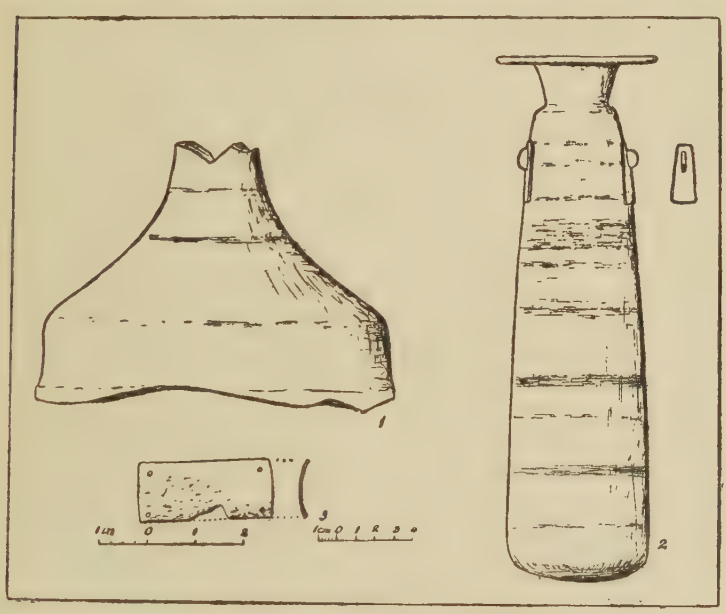


Fig. 8.—Objects from Grave No. I.

covered with a series of four massive cover-slabs, and lined with cement. Like the others, its axis lay east and west: the head of the body was to the east. There was a single interment in the tomb: a small and, I think, not full-grown person, barely over 5 feet in height. The bones were so rotten that it was impossible to measure them, even *in situ*; with the exception of the right humerus, which I was able to preserve, and which measures 289 millimetres, they were all in a condition resembling soft putty.

The deposits in the tomb were meagre, and could not for a moment compare in richness with the previously found interments

of the same group. They consisted of a considerable quantity of mutton and chicken bones, evidently the remains of food deposits, which were heaped up in the space between the head of the body and the east wall of the tomb; the broken fragments of the neck of a jar of compact light reddish-brown ware (Fig. 8, no. 1), which were lying among the food-bones; fragments of alabaster, which together made two vessels—the type of both is shown in Fig. 8, no. 2; and a small plate of silver, with perforations for threading, probably the ornament of a belt or some such garment (Fig. 8, no. 3).

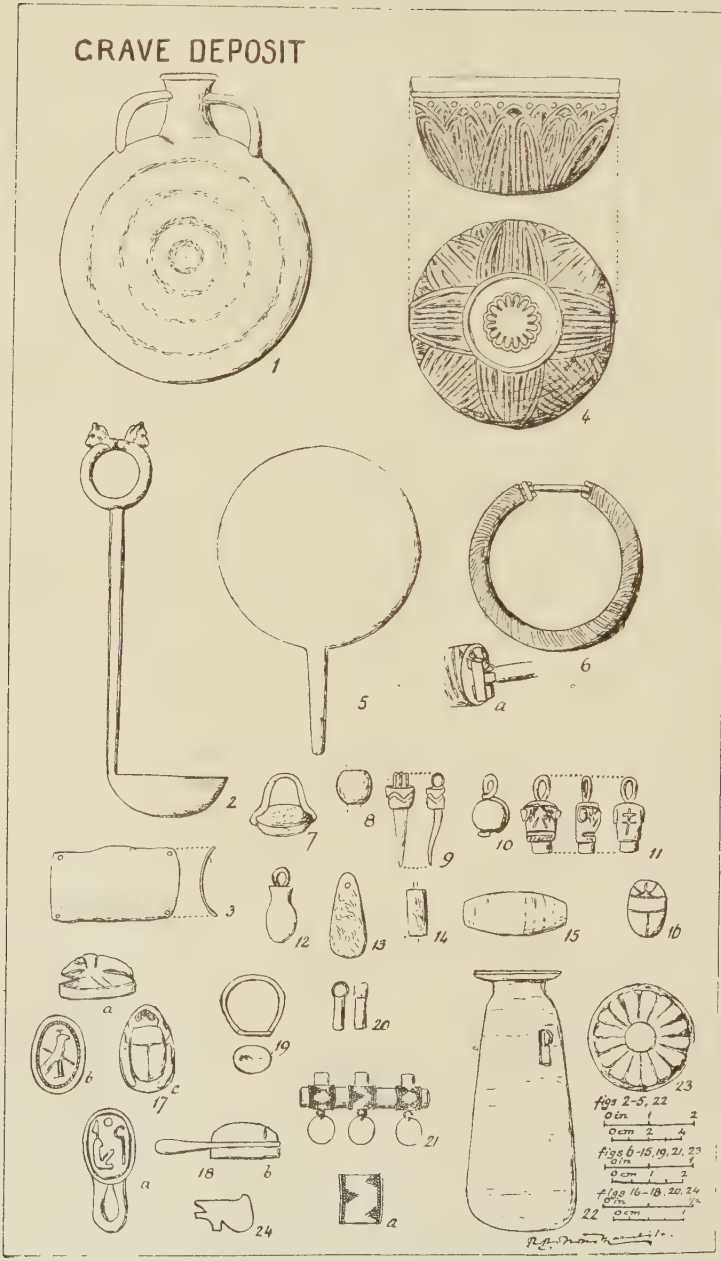
The second grave was of far greater importance. It was that of a woman, apparently, so far as I could judge, about thirty years of age, with strongly marked features. The bones were in a much better state than those from the other tombs of the series, and I have hopes that they may give us some information as to the race to which this puzzling and unexpected group of tombs belongs.

The dimensions of the grave are: length 9 feet $0\frac{1}{4}$ inch, breadth 2 feet $11\frac{1}{2}$ inches, depth 3 feet $9\frac{3}{8}$ inches. The great *length*, which characterizes all these tombs, will not escape notice. Like the others, it is of rude masonry, lined internally with plaster, and covered with a row of, in this case four, massive stone cover-slabs, themselves covered over and embedded in plaster after having been laid in position.

The body had evidently been deposited at full length, with the head to the east; but the bones were not continuous. The head was completely dissevered from the neck, and was lying on its right side on the breast, the top of the head facing west. I thought at first that I had a case of intentional post-mortem mutilation, such as Prof. Petrie found at Naqada; but when I found (on further removing the earth that had filtered through the roofing slabs and covered the deposits) that one of the radii was dissociated from its companion ulna, and was lying, with one of the femora, out of all connexion with the rest of the body, and that the sacrum was between and under the knees, I came to the conclusion that the displacement of the bones was to be attributed to rats, whose burrows were very much in evidence inside the tomb.

The contents of the tomb, which are represented together upon Plate I, were as follows:—

(1) A large and fine lentoid jar of light reddish-brown ware, with burnished circles surrounding the central points of the two


CRAVE DEPOSIT
1
4
5
6
a
2
7
8
9
10
11
3
12
13
14
15
16
a
b
c
17
19
20
23
figs 2-5, 22
0 in. 1 2
0 cm 2 4
figs 6-15, 19, 21, 23
0 in. 1
0 cm 1 2
figs 16-18, 20, 24
0 in. ½
0 cm 1
22
a
18
b
21
24
a

sides. The neck and handles are of the pattern usual in such vessels. The height is 14 inches or 35·5 centimètres. Owing to its size, it has been necessary to draw it to a smaller scale than the rest of the objects on the plate.

This vessel was found upside down *above* the silt with which the tomb had become filled, and immediately under the easternmost cover-slab. That the tomb had been specially opened after the silt had accumulated, to deposit this jar, is highly improbable, and there were no signs of this having been done. We are constrained, I think, to adopt the ingenious explanation that was suggested to me by the foreman—namely, that in a succession of heavy rains the tomb filled with water, which floated the jar (originally, of course, laid on the level of the rest of the interments) and washed in silt underneath it.[1] The jar, in that case, must originally have been deposited in the south-eastern corner.

(2) About the middle of the eastern end of the tomb was a silver ladle, 21·2 cm. ($8\frac{1}{4}$ inches) long. It has a shaft rectangular in section, with chamfered edges; ending upward in a ring, in the top of which rise two representations of lions' heads; and downward in the bowl of the ladle, which is set at right angles to the shaft.

(3) In the north-eastern corner was a curved plate of bronze, $6\frac{1}{2}$ cm. ($2\frac{1}{2}$ inches) in length, similar in appearance, no doubt also in purpose, to the silver plate from the first tomb.

(4) West of the original place of the jar, and close by the head of the deceased, was a beautiful hemispherical silver bowl, 11·5 cm. ($4\frac{3}{8}$ inches) in diameter. It is decorated with a rosette on the base, and an elaborate pattern of lotus leaves in low relief—not repoussé, for the interior, except for four concentric circles drawn round the centre, is plain—on the sides.

(5) Just west of the ladle was a plain bronze mirror, 17·5 cm. ($6\frac{7}{8}$ inches) long. This had no ornament on the reverse side, and the drawing sufficiently represents it. It is interesting to notice that it had been deposited in a cloth case, and a few fragments of the cloth—enough in all, perhaps, to cover a space the size of a

[1] The process would, of course, be gradual, as the tomb is not so impervious as to hold water for any considerable length of time. This is the fatal objection to an attractive modification of the theory that occurred to me—namely, that the body had been deposited in liquid, like that of King Tabnit at Sidon.

postage-stamp—still remained adhering to one side of the mirror. The cloth was rather coarse, with 11 threads to the centimetre in the warp, and 19 in the woof.

(6) On each of the wrists was a gold bracelet, 2 inches in external diameter, consisting of a hollow tube of gold having a delicate spiral twist running along its whole length. The ends of the tube are closed with flat plates, to which are fastened the loops by which the bar closing the bracelet is fastened. This bar has a loop at each end, which fits between the loops on the bracelet: at one end it is free, at the other it is held in position by two narrow strips of gold running past the loops inside and outside. It thus swings as on a hinge. The rivet by which the free end was secured is unfortunately lost.

At the right side of the body, about the level of the elbow, had been placed a miscellaneous collection of beads. They must have been of a very ornate description; but a good many of them were made of a gum-like paste, and had disintegrated. Drawings of those that could be recovered are on the plate (coloured drawings have also been sent to the Fund Office). They may be described thus: (7) A seal-shaped stone, I think an onyx, with convex back and flat base, polished smooth—no device on the base. Set in a silver loop. (8) Spherical bead of black paste. (9) A peculiar ornament, consisting of a splinter of flint set in a silver mount—on the mount a zigzag line is traced, and the loop for suspension is beaded. (10) A spheroidal bead of yellowish crystal. A silver wire is passed through the perforation, the lower end looped into an L to make it catch: the upper end is then coiled, twisted round itself, and carried round the outside of the bead. The point of this end is broken off, but it seems ultimately to have been twisted into the L-shaped end. (11) A very remarkable bead of haematite. A silver loop is passed through it, for suspension. The bead is three-sided, and has been cut into the semblance of a Gorgonian human head. The eye-balls are represented by projecting knobs. The triangle of the eye is of great size, and the art displayed is strangely reminiscent of that of some savage South Sea Island tribe! (12) Pendant bead of an opaque bluish stone. The grooves near the top do not go round, but are notches cut out of the sides. (13, 14) Two beads, one cylindrical, the other a drop-shaped pendant, of a warm reddish-brown gum, covered with bright yellow lines. This very friable and perishable material was apparently

used for other beads, of which only traces remained. (15) A very handsome barrel-shaped bead cut from a fine agate.

Besides the beads, there were three scarabs in the hoard. These are represented for clearness' sake at double the scale of the beads in the plate. Fig. 16 is a small scarab of amethyst: the sides and base are plain. Fig. 17 is represented in three aspects in the plate, *a*, *b*, and *c*. It is a small but rather clumsily cut specimen of jade, possibly not Egyptian in origin: it bears a figure of a hawk within an oval border. Fig. 18 is of steatite, and bears the legend *ḥḳ-Mʾꜥt-Rʾ*. It is enclosed within a silver loop, fitting tightly round the legs of the beetle (as shown in Fig. 18*b*); it will be noticed that when suspended the characters were upside down, as though they were without meaning for the owner of the ornament.

The minute representation of the Horus-eye, Fig. 24, also belonged to this hoard. It is of the same material as the gum-paste beads, Figs. 13, 14.

A little below the hoard of beads was the silver signet-ring, Fig. 19; it probably had been on one of the fingers of the deceased, but the bones had disappeared. There had been a device on the signet, but the silver was so corroded that it was found quite impossible to decipher it.

The small object, Fig. 20, is a tube of gold, with a loop at the top. It is here represented to the same scale as the scarabs, *i.e.*, double the scale of the beads. This was found about the place where the femora should have been, had they not been disturbed. I suspect it was the fastening of a pendant bead that has disappeared. I thought at first it might be the missing rivet of one of the bracelets, Fig. 6; but the tube is just too wide to fit through the loops of the bracelet-hinge.

Fig. 21 is the most beautiful of all the objects deposited in the tomb. It is a cylindrical bar of polished jasper, 3·7 cm. ($1\frac{7}{16}$ ins.) in length. Upon it are three gold belts, with a little loop of gold above each, and below each smaller loops, from which depend discs of gold. The belts are ornamental on their surface with a delicate pattern of pellets a ring of pellets round each edge from which, at intervals, project triangles over the surface. It will not escape notice that in the two outer belts the triangles correspond, in the central belt they alternate. The enlarged drawing, *a*, shows the details of this ornamentation. Though this object was found about the feet of the skeleton, I believe it originally had some connec-

tion with the string of beads, the remains of which have been described.

Fig. 22 is an alabaster vase resembling those found in the other grave, but smaller. It was in the north-west corner of the grave.

Fig. 23 is a silver disc, which must have been deposited at the western end of the grave, but it somehow worked upwards among the silt, like the jar, No. 1. The ornament upon it, a plain rosette, is in repoussé.

The deposits in this tomb resemble those in the other woman's tomb of the same series so remarkably, that the coincidences cannot be accidental. Both had a ladle, a mirror, a silver bowl, and a string of beads with scarabs, *and they occupied approximately the same relative positions in the tombs.* The first tomb had a bronze pot which this lacked; in its stead (and in the same position) was the pottery jar. The first woman had anklets, the second bracelets; and the first had a rather larger number of alabaster vessels than the second. But these minor differences were the only serious points of contrast.

It may be interesting to recapitulate the points in which these remarkable interments differ from those of the contemporary Semitic tombs:—

(1) They are *built* of masonry, not hollowed as caves in the rock.

(2) The bodies are laid at full length, not in a contracted position.

(3) Orientation is carefully observed, not (as in cave tombs) absolutely neglected.

(4) The deposits in the tombs are of artistic value.

(5) The tombs are within the city walls—all the others (except some of the first Semitic period) are outside them.

(6) There is comparatively little *pottery* with the dead, whereas pottery forms the majority of the objects in the Semitic tombs.

I have hopes that yet more of this extremely interesting cemetery may be discovered, which may throw further light upon it. For the present I can only say that if these be not Philistine tombs, I am quite unable to say what they may be. If they be so, one of the minor achievements of the Palestine Exploration Fund will be the rescuing of this ancient race from a cruel injustice. A "Philistine" has become a proverbial term for a person impervious to art influences. But it is beginning to appear as though, among

all the successive races occupying Gezer, the Philistines were the only people (with the exception of some stray Egyptian settlers) who either cared about art, or had the slightest skill in its practice.[1]

VI.—The Nomenclature of the Periods of Development of Civilisation in Palestine.

In the course of putting the results of the excavation of Gezer together in their final form—a work on which I am now actively engaged—I have had occasion to consider carefully the subject of the names to be given to the various periods of Palestinian culture. The names which were adopted by Dr. Bliss and myself in *Excavations in Palestine*, "Early" and "Late Pre-Israelite," "Jewish" "Seleucidan," I now see, with wider experience, to be open to various objections. Too much stress is laid by them on the results of the Hebrew immigration, which did not affect the progress of culture to the extent supposed, and cannot be said to have had any obvious influence on the development of civilisation in Gezer at all.

In Gezer we have five well-marked stages of culture. There is first the rude semi-, if not complete, savagery of the cave-dwellers. Then follows a rather more advanced race, among whose remains are to be found twelfth dynasty Egyptian scarabs. Another stage, as well-marked as the two preceding, ends with the eighteenth dynasty. The fifth stage runs on to about the period of the Assyrian conquest of the Israelite kingdom, but, as a good many gradual changes can be traced in its long course, it is capable of sub-division into two or more sub-periods. Lastly, there is the post-exilic stage, where the native art receives a strong Hellenic bias.

The difficulty of finding a name for these various periods lies in the absence of any geographical or racial term that accurately denotes the whole of the region over which the civilisation in question extended. The names "First, Second (etc.) Palestinian" at first attracted me, but they are open to the objection that Palestine properly means Philistia only. "Canaanite" is, for a similar reason, to be avoided. The terms I have at last decided upon are "Pre-Semitic," to denote the Cave-dwellers and their level of civilisation. "First" to "Fourth Semitic" for the subsequent pre-exilic periods. For the post-exilic period (in which

[1] See further remarks below, on pp. 240-243.

special characteristics previously unknown make their appearance) a more special name seems desirable. Perhaps "Maccabean" or "Ptolemaic" are as good as any—they are certainly more applicable, to Gezer at least, than "Seleucidan." But if we were to call this the "Hellenizing" period, we should use a term that at once is descriptive, and avoids the names of people who, though no doubt they tried to influence the art-evolution of the time, had really little to do with the actual process of development.

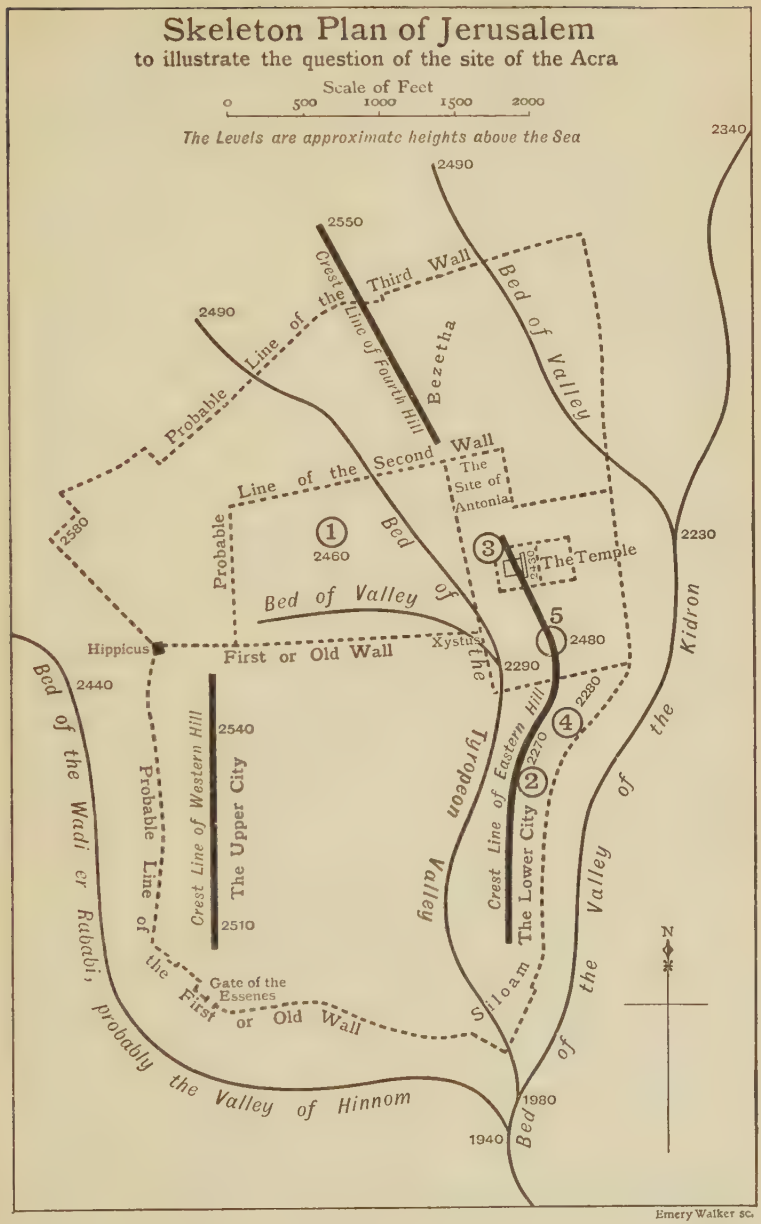
THE SITE OF THE ACRA.

By Sir Charles Watson, K.C.M.G., C.B., R.E., M.A.

Since the publication of my article on "The Site of the Acra at Jerusalem" in the *Quarterly Statement* for January, 1906, there have been several papers on the subject, *i.e.*, by the Rev. W. Birch in the number for April, 1906, by the Rev. J. M. Tenz in the same, and by the Rev. J. C. Nevin in the numbers for July and October, 1906. I have also received several letters with regard to the matter, and have been asked to give some further information respecting the question.

In order to elucidate the following remarks, an outline plan of Jerusalem is annexed, in which details not required for a consideration of the subject of the Acra have been omitted for the sake of clearness. On this plan there are marked with small circles the sites proposed by the various writers above mentioned for the Acra.

Site No. 1 is that which was, I believe, first suggested by Doctor Robinson, and which has been supported by General Sir C. Warren, Colonel Conder, and others. The position shown is that indicated in the plate opposite page 37 in Sir C. Warren's work *The Temple or the Tomb*, and marked thereon as "Zion or Acra." It agrees with the position marked as "Acra or Millo" in the plate of Ancient Jerusalem, given at page 334 in Colonel Conder's *Handbook of the Bible*.


Skeleton Plan of Jerusalem
to illustrate the question of the site of the Acra
Scale of Feet
0 500 1000 1500 2000
The Levels are approximate heights above the Sea
2340
2490
2550
Crest Line of Third Wall
Bed of Valley
2490
Line of Probable
Crest Line of Fourth Hill
Bezetha
Line of the Second Wall
The Site of Antonia
2580
Probable
1
2460
Bed of Valley
3
The Temple
2230
5
2480
Hippicus
First or Old Wall
Xystus
2290
2440
Bed of the Wadi er Rababi, probably the Valley of Hinnom
Probable Line of the First or Old Wall
Crest Line of Western Hill
2540
The Upper City
2510
Tyropeon Valley
Crest Line of Eastern Hill
2270
2290
4
2
The Lower City
Siloam
Bed of the Valley of the Kidron
Gate of the Essenes
1980
1940
N
Emery Walker sc.

Site No. 2 is the northern point of the area, shown by Mr. Birch in the plan at page 34 of the *Quarterly Statement* for January, 1886, and marked as the "Castle of Zion, *i.e.*, the City of David."

Mr. Tenz, in his note at page 158 of the *Quarterly* for April, 1906, adopts both of the above sites, of which he considers No. 1 was the Acra of the Greeks, which was demolished by the Maccabees; and that No. 2 was the fort or Acra of the Jebusites, which David took and called the City of David. He thus agrees partly with Mr. Birch and partly with Sir C. Warren.

In Mr. Nevin's article, he states that he did not agree with the position I had proposed; but as, after a careful perusal of his remarks, I could not clearly understand what site he preferred, I asked him to furnish a sketch plan to illustrate his paper. This he has kindly sent, and from it I have taken sites No. 3 and 4. Of these he considers that No. 3 was the position of "the tower," "the fortress," "the castle," "the Baris," "the citadel," "the Acra," and "the Antonia"; and that No. 4, which corresponds with the tower in the Wall of Ophel discovered by Sir C. Warren, was "the stronghold of the Jebusites and the City of David."

Site No. 5 is that which I have suggested in the article quoted above.

Before considering the arguments for and against these different sites, it is advisable to examine briefly some of the records on the subject, and of these one of the most important is the description of Jerusalem, given by Josephus in the *Wars of the Jews*, Book V, ch. 4. As much depends on the exact meaning of the words, it is best to quote the passage in the original Greek, which is as follows:—

Ιεροσολύμων ἔκφρασις.

Τρισὶ δὲ ὠχυρωμένη τείχεσιν ἡ πόλις καθὰ μὴ ταὶς ἀβάτοις φάραγξιν ἐκυκλοῦτο· τάυτη γὰρ εἶς ἦν περίβολος· αὐτὴ μὲν ὑπὲρ δύο λόφων αντιπρόσωπος ἔκτιστο μέση φάραγγι διιρημένων εἰς ἣν ἐπάλληλοι κατέληγον αἱ οἰκίαι· τῶν δὲ λόφων ὁ μὲν τὴν ἄνω πόλιν ἔχων ὑψηλότερος πολλῷ καὶ τὸ μῆκος ἰθύτερος ἦν. διὰγοῦν τὴν ὀχυρότητα φρούριον μὲν ὑπὸ Δαβίδου τοῦ βασιλέως ἐκαλεῖτο· πατὴρ Σολομῶνος ἦν οὗτος τοῦ πρώτου τὸν νεὼν κτίσαντος· ἡ δὲ ἄνω ἀγορὰ πρὸς ἡμῶν· ἄτερος δὲ ὁ καλοῦμενος Ακρα καὶ τὴν κάτω πόλιν ὑφετὼς ἀμφίκυρτος· τούτου δὲ ἀντικρὺ τρίτος ἦν λόφος ταπεινότερός τε φύσει τῆς Ακρας και πλατείᾳ φάραγγι διειργόμενος ἄλλῃ πρότερον· αὖθίς γε μὴν καθ'οὓς οἱ

Ασαμωναῖοι χρόνους ἐβασίλευον τήν τε φάραγγα ἔχωσαν συνάψαι βουλόμενοι τῷ ἱερῷ τὴν πόλιν καὶ τῆς Ακρας κατεργασάμενοι τὸ ὕψος ἐποιήσαντο χθαμαλώτερον ὡς ὑπερ φαίνοιτο καὶ ταύτης τὸ ἱερόν· ἡ δὲ τῶν Τυροποιῶν προσαγορευομένη φάραγξ ἦν ἔφαμεν τόν τε τῆς ἄνω πόλεως καὶ τὸν κάτω λόφον διατέλλειν καθήκει μέχρι Σιλωάμ· οὕτω γὰρ τὴν πηγὴν γλυκεῖάν τε καὶ πολλὴν οὖσαν εκαλοῦμεν· ἔξωθεν δὲ οἱ τῆς πόλεως δύο λόφοι βαθείαις φάραγξι περιείχοντο καὶ διὰ τοὺς ἑκατέρωθεν κρημνοὺς προσιτὸν οὐδαμόθεν ἦν· τῶν δὲ τριῶν τειχῶν τὸ μὲν ἀρχαῖον διά τε τὰς φάραγγας καὶ τὸν ὑπὲρ τούτων λόφον ἐφ' οὗ κατεσκεύαστο δυσάλωτον ἦν· πρὸς δὲ τῷ πλεονεκτήματι τοῦ τόπου καὶ καρτερῶς ἐδεδόμητο Δαβίδου τε καὶ Σολομῶνος ἔτι δὲ τῶν μεταξὺ τούτων βασιλέων φιλοτιμηθέντων περὶ τὸ ἔργον· ἀρχόμενον δὲ κατὰ βορρᾶν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ιππικοῦ καλουμένου πύργου καὶ διατεῖνον ἐπὶ τὸν Ξυστὸν λεγόμενον ἔπειτα τῇ Βουλῇ συνάπτον ἐπὶ τὴν ἑσπέριον τοῦ ἱεροῦ στοὰν ἀπηρτίζετο· κατὰ θάτερον δὲ πρὸς δύσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ μὲν ἀρχόμενον χωρίου διὰ δὲ τοῦ βηθσὼ καλουμένου κατατεῖνον ἐπὶ τὴν Εσσηνῶν πύλην καὶ ἔπειτα πρὸς νότον ὑπὲρ τὴν Σιλωὰμ ἐπιστρέφον πηγήν· ἔνθεν τε πάλιν ἐκκλίνον πρὸς ἀνατολὴν ἐπὶ τὴν Σολομῶνος κολυμβήθραν καὶ διῆκον μέχρι χώρου τινὸς ὃν καλοῦσιν Οφλὰν τῇ πρὸς ἀνατολὴν στοᾷ τοῦ ἱεροῦ συνῆπται· τὸ δὲ ἕτερον τὴν μὲν ἀρχὴν ἀπὸ πύλης εἶχεν ἣν Γεννὰθ ἐκάλουν τοῦ πρώτου τείχους οὖσαν κυκλούμενον δὲ τὸ προσάρκτιον κλίμα μόνον ἀνήει μέχρι τῆς Αντωνίας.

Josephus then goes on to describe the line of the third wall and the position of the fourth hill, called Bezetha, north of Antonia, but these do not concern the question of the site of the Acra.

The meaning of the above-quoted description of the situation of Jerusalem appears to be as follows:—

"The city fortified with three walls (except where it was "encircled by impassable valleys, where there was only one wall) "stood upon two hills, opposite to each other, separated by a middle "valley upon which the corresponding houses abutted.

"The one of these hills, upon which was the upper city, was "much higher, and the length more straight. On account of its "strength it was called the fortress (*φρούριον*) by David the king, "the father of Solomon who first built the temple. With us it was "the upper market place.

"But the second hill, called Acra, and supporting the lower "city, was double-curved (*ἀμφίκυρτος*).

"Over against this was a third hill, originally lower than the "Acra and formerly separated from the latter by a flat (*i.e.* shallow)

"valley. Afterwards, in the times when the Asamoneans ruled, "they did away with this valley, wishing to connect the city with "the temple; and cutting down the summit of the Acra, they "made it lower, so that the temple might be visible over it.

"But the valley, called that of the Tyropeans, which, as we "have said, separated the hill of the upper city from the lower, "extended to Siloam, for so we call the fountain which is both sweet "and abundant.

"The two hills of the city were surrounded on the outside with "deep valleys, and, on account of the precipices on each side, there "was no approach anywhere.

"Of the three walls, the old one (*i.e.* the first wall) was difficult "to capture, both on account of the valleys and of the hill above "them upon which the wall was built. And, in addition to the "advantage of the situation, the wall was strongly built by David "and Solomon, and the kings succeeding them, who were very "energetic about the work. This wall, on the north side, beginning "at the tower named Hippicus, and extending to the so-called "Xystus, was there joined to the council house and reached the "west cloister of the temple. In the other direction, on the west, "beginning at the same point (*i.e.* the tower Hippicus), it was "traced through the place called Bethso to the gate of the Essenes, "and then extended, facing south, towards the fountain Siloam. "Thence it inclined eastwards by the pool of Solomon, and, passing "a certain place called Ophlas, joined the east cloister of the "temple.

"The second wall had its beginning at a gate in the first wall "which they call Gennath, and, enclosing the northern quarter "only, reached to the Antonia."

From the description by Josephus it is quite clear that *both* the first and the second hills were included within the old or first wall, that they were separated by a deep valley, and that *both* hills were surrounded, except on the north, by precipitous valleys. The first or higher hill was straight in plan, while the lower hill was double curved. The annexed plan, which shows the hills and valleys as we know they formerly existed, indicates plainly that there are only two hills in Jerusalem which agree with the description by Josephus, and these agree in every particular. These are the western hill, now called Sion, and the eastern hill, which extends from the Haram enclosure to Siloam.

A reference to the plan will show that the western hill is higher and straight, while the eastern hill is lower and double curved, *i.e.*, curved in both directions. Whiston, in his translation of Josephus, renders *ἀμφίκυρτος* by "the shape of the moon when she is horned," but there is no hill in Jerusalem answering to this description. The deep valleys which surround the two hills on the outside are the Wadi er-Rababi on the west and south, and the valley of the Kidron on the east, while the existence of the middle valley, separating the two hills, was proved conclusively by the explorations of Sir Charles Warren.

The position for the first or old wall, indicated on the plan, is now, I believe, generally accepted. There can be no doubt as to the approximate site of the tower of Hippicus, and the west wall of the temple enclosure still exists. Dr. Bliss, in his explorations in 1894–97, recovered the south portion of the wall to Siloam, while Sir C. Warren found the part of the wall, which, as Josephus explained, joined the east cloister of the temple. The gate of the Essenes was probably on the site of the ancient gate discovered by Dr. Bliss in the south wall, near the south-west corner of Jerusalem.

The third hill, mentioned by Josephus, was evidently the hill upon which the temple was built, otherwise the context would have no meaning; and, in the next chapter, in which he gives a description of the temple, he remarks, "but the temple which, as I have already said, was built upon a strong hill." This disposes of the proposition made by Mr. James Fergusson that the temple was at the south-west corner of the Haram enclosure, as, if it had been there, so far from being built on a strong hill, it would have stood over a deep valley, as is proved by Warren's explorations.

There can be little doubt that the third hill, as described by Josephus, is that now occupied by the Dome of the Rock, and this would quite coincide with the account in Josephus, provided the Acra was at site No. 5 on the plan, thus confirming this position. It is easy to see how the Acra, *before* the hill was cut down, would have obscured the view of the temple from the lower city, and how the two became connected, *after* the removal of the Acra. This is shown still more clearly in the plan which accompanied my article in the *Quarterly Statement* for January, 1906.

Having thus shown that the Acra, according to Josephus, was the highest point of the eastern hill, it follows that the city of

David was also on the eastern hill; as it is definitely stated in 1 Maccabees i, 33, that the Acra of the Greeks was in the city of David, and this agrees with the description in Nehemiah, who locates the city of David and the sepulchres of David on the eastern hill.

The relative positions of the Acra and the temple, as indicated above, are also confirmed by the description of Jerusalem by Aristeas, who is supposed to have visited the place in the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus. A translation of his account is given in Vol. XI of the Palestine Pilgrim Text Society's publications. Aristeas says that the temple was built on the crest of the hill, and that from the citadel, which adjoined the temple, it was possible to see the whole of the city. Had the citadel been north of the temple, this would not have been possible, as the latter would have obscured the view.

I have indicated on the plan the approximate line of the second wall, according to Josephus. The exact line of this wall is not known, but a full account of the various theories regarding it is given in Sir Charles Wilson's work, *Golgotha and the Holy Sepulchre*, p. 127. The date of the erection of the second wall is obscure, and the first reference to it in Josephus is in *Antiquities*, Book XIV, ch. xiii, 4. I have been unable to find any passage to prove that the second wall existed in the times of the Maccabees, and, at that period, there does not seem to have been a line of defence in front of the northern branch of the first wall, as described by Josephus, that is to say, from the tower Hippicus to the west cloister of the temple. But there was a wall surrounding the temple hill on the west, north, and east sides which must have been constructed at an early period, possibly by Solomon when he built the temple, but certainly in the time of the kings. In this wall were the tower of Hananeel, mentioned by Jeremiah, Zechariah, and Nehemiah;[1] the tower of Meah;[2] and the sheep gate,[3] where the repair of the walls by Nehemiah commenced. The exact line of this wall of defence is difficult to trace, but the fact of its former existence is undoubted. I have not attempted to show this wall on the plan, as it would be confused with the wall of the Haram enclosure. In the time of the Maccabeans a wall was added on the south side

[1] Jeremiah xxxi, 38; Zechariah xiv, 10; Nehemiah iii, 6.
[2] Nehemiah iii, 1. [3] Ibid.

of the temple, between the latter and the Acra, so that the hill of the temple thus became a self-contained fortress. This was the fortress occupied by Simon Maccabeus, after he had captured the Acra from the Greek garrison, and there can, I think, be no question but that this fortified hill upon which the temple stood, was, in the times of the Maccabees, called Zion.

There has been much discussion as to the part of Jerusalem the name Zion was applied to. But it does not appear very difficult. In the times of the Jebusites, Zion was the eastern hill, and the fort on the highest point of this hill (Site No. 5 on the plan) was called the Castle of Zion, which was taken by David. After the temple was built on the hill adjacent to that on which the castle of Zion stood, the name Zion was more specially applied to the temple hill, and, when the latter hill became a fortress, it was called the fortress of Zion. The transfer of the name of Zion to the western hill does not appear to have taken place until after the destruction of the temple by Titus.

The question of the cutting down of the hill of the Acra by the Asamoneans, as related by Josephus, is a very interesting one. I have already quoted his remarks on the subject in his description of Jerusalem, and he also alludes to it in the *Antiquities*, Book XIII, 6, 7, where he says, speaking of Simon Maccabeus: "and, having "captured the Acra in Jerusalem, he levelled it to the ground, so "that it might not be a place of refuge to their enemies, if they "took it, to do harm, as it had been until then. And having done "this, he thought that it would be best to cut down the hill, upon "which the Acra stood, so that the temple might be higher. . . . "And they all, labouring zealously, demolished the hill, and, ceasing "not from the work night and day for three whole years, brought "it to a level and even slope, so that the temple became the highest "of all, after the Acra, and the hill upon which it was built, had "been removed."

A question naturally arises as to what became of the débris which was excavated from the hill of the Acra, and the answer seems to be given by the information obtained from Sir C. Warren's explorations. He sunk a number of shafts along the south wall of the Haram enclosure, and the details of his discoveries therein are to be found in the Jerusalem volume of the *Memoirs*, p. 169; in the plates that accompany the *Memoirs*; and in Warren's letters, especially Nos. VIII and X, which are included in the *Quarterly*

Statement for 1869. The shafts are shown on Plate XXVII of the *Memoirs*.

In shaft C. 19, which was 90 feet east from the south-west angle, he succeeded in getting right down to the bed of the Tyropeon valley, 87 feet below the present ground surface, and found a water conduit at the bottom, which must have been built before the valley was filled up. Above this conduit was a depth of 50 feet of rubbish, which was apparently placed there *before* the great wall of the Haram enclosure was built, as the stones of the masonry below this level were rough faced, and Warren remarks: "the rough-faced stones are in an excellent state of preservation, "having never been exposed to the weather since the wall was built." It will be seen from Plate X that the width of the filling at this level, measured across the valley, was about 400 feet. This is a large quantity of filling, and one naturally asks where did it come from.

Judging from Warren's investigation, the stages at this point appear to have been—

First. The Tyropeon valley was quite open.

Second. The water conduit, running north and south, was constructed in the bed of the valley. This conduit was probably under a road or street coming from the north.

Third. The valley was filled up to a depth of 50 feet over the conduit.

Fourth. The south wall was built from east to west across the valley, and the masonry of the lower part was left rough where it went down through the filling.

There are later stages of filling, but as these occurred after this wall was built, they need not be considered here.

There can be little doubt that this part of the south wall was built by Herod, as described by Josephus in *Wars*, Book V, v, 1, where he alludes to the fact that the lower part of the wall was buried in the ground.

It is difficult to see where the filling came from, unless it was derived from the cutting down of the hill of the Acra; for this it is in the natural place, and a rough estimate of the probable relative amounts of cutting and filling shows that these would about balance. Warren's explorations would, therefore, seem to confirm the position (Site No. 5) which I have proposed for the Acra.

Mr. Birch, I am aware, regards the account by Josephus of the

cutting down of the Acra as an idle tale, but the descriptions of the matter in his writings are so clear and so consistent with facts that it is quite impossible to reject them, and it is difficult to see what object he could have had in inventing such a story.

Having thus given reasons for considering that Site No. 5 was the most probable position for the Acra, I will briefly give some of the objections to the other sites proposed.

First let us take Site No. 1. This site is on the sloping spur upon which the Church of the Holy Sepulchre stands, and is about 1,000 feet from the temple, too far to have commanded it. It was outside the first wall, and worshippers going to the sanctuary from the city would not have been exposed to attack from the foreign garrison. The Acra was certainly in the city of David, and between this city and the temple, so that if the Acra was at this place, it would imply that the city of David was further to the north-west, and therefore about the same height as the upper city, which is not an admissible assumption. We have also the statement in Josephus, *Wars*, Book V, vi, 1: "But Simon held the upper "city and the great wall (*i.e.* the third wall) to the Kidron, and "that part of the old wall (*i.e.* the first wall) as turned from Siloam "to the east, going down to the palace of Monobazus, the king "of the Adiabeni, beyond Euphrates. And Simon held the fountain, "and the Acra, which is the lower city." This is entirely in accord with his other statements, which are consistent in placing the Acra on the eastern hill, south of the temple. To place the Acra at Site No. 1, west of the temple, appears therefore to be in contradiction of what we learn from Josephus and the Books of the Maccabees.

Site No. 2, which is that proposed by Mr. Birch, has the advantage over No. 1 that it is on the eastern hill, and is so far in accord with the historical descriptions. But it fails to answer to these in being too far down the hill, as it is at the level 2,270, or about 170 feet below the top of the hill upon which the temple formerly stood, and is at a distance of 1,600 feet from the latter. How a fort in such a position could have commanded the temple I am quite unable to understand, as the distance is far too great, and the difference in level is too considerable. To adopt this site for the Acra makes it not only necessary to reject many statements in Josephus, but also in the Maccabees. For example, in 1 Maccabees vi, 18, we read: "About this time they that were

"in the tower shut up the Israelites round about the sanctuary, and "sought always their hurt." But this they could not have done if the Acra was in the position proposed by Mr. Birch. Again, in 1 Maccabees xiii, 22, after relating the manner in which the garrison of the Acra capitulated to Simon, and he had taken possession of this fortress, it is written: "Moreover, the hill of the temple that "was *by* the Acra he made stronger than it was, and there he dwelt "himself with his company." The phrase in the Septuagint version is παρὰ τὴν ἄκραν, which certainly implies that the temple and the Acra were close to one another, and not separated by a distance of more than 500 yards.

As regards the sites suggested by Mr. Nevin, he places the city of David at No. 4, which is close to the probable site on the eastern hill, but he locates the Acra of the Greeks at No. 3, which is difficult to understand. In the first place it is not, according to him, in the city of David, which the Acra undoubtedly was, and it is much too close to the temple. To meet this, Mr. Nevin places the temple further to the south-west, in the Tyropeon valley, a position that contradicts the statements of Josephus and Aristeas, who both say it was on the hill.

Reviewing the whole matter, I can see no reason to alter my opinion that the only site for the Acra which is in accord with *all* the records in the Bible, Josephus, and the Maccabees, is that shown at Site No. 5. The adoption of any other site involves the rejection or the explaining away of some of these records, and this I do not think we should be justified in doing.

The question is one which it is difficult to understand from plans; I have therefore prepared a model of ancient Jerusalem, which makes the matter much clearer, and I have also made models, on a larger scale, to illustrate the ground in the vicinity of the Acra, before and after the hill was cut down by the Maccabees. It is not possible to circulate these models with the *Quarterly Statement*, but if any reader, who takes an interest in the question, cares to see them, I shall be pleased to show them to him at the Office of the Fund.

THE CHURCHES OF CONSTANTINE.

By A. W. Crawley-Boevey, Esq., M.A.,

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Everyone interested in Jerusalem antiquities has heard of Constantine's famous Churches, the Anastasis, the Marturion, and the Church of Golgotha. The chief question of historical interest has always been, Where were they built, and why was the original site selected?

All modern authorities agree that these Churches were erected at one or other of the following sites within the area of the present city walls, (1) that covered by the existing Church of the Holy Sepulchre, (2) (according to Mr. J. Fergusson, F.R.A.S.) that covered by the so-called Mosque of Omar and the adjacent buildings within the area known as *Haram-el-Sherif*. The writings of Eusebius and of all the Palestine pilgrims clearly point to the fact that these Churches were erected *within the walls* as they existed in and after the fourth century; but all commentators have been puzzled to reconcile the accounts published, or to come to any definite agreement about their exact position. The determination of this question about the Churches has hitherto been complicated by its connection with the religious controversy regarding the position of the Holy Sepulchre. Before entering on this difficult subject we must then be prepared to consider the preliminary question, why was the original site for these Churches selected? The popular answer of course is, (1) that the site of the Anastasis was selected by Macarius and his advisers because it contained the actual cave in which the Saviour's body was laid. (2) That this site is now covered by the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, which is, or stands near, the original site of Constantine's famous Church. But this answer raises the difficult question: How can the veritable Golgotha and the Tomb be found occupying a central and apparently impossible site within the walls? Whether Macarius and his advisers in the fourth century knew the exact position of the reputed Holy

Sepulchre is disputed; but it is difficult to resist the opinion that they must at least have known or might have ascertained the position of Golgotha, which, as a notorious place of public execution, and close to a great public cemetery, is little likely to have been entirely forgotten either by Jews, Romans, or Christians. Now there are three sites in Jerusalem, and three only, where such a Golgotha has been hitherto pointed out with any show of authority. (1) The traditional site now covered by the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. (2) The site fixed by Fergusson for *Goath*[1] which he identified with Golgotha or Gol-Goath, near the Golden Gate, within the present so-called Temple area. (3) The site of the small rocky hill above Jeremiah's Grotto, situated due north of the modern Damascus Gate and in close proximity to it. The first or traditional site was, it is said, entirely inappropriate from its central position for use as a cemetery, or place of public execution. This site is not now, and in the opinion of most authorities never has been, outside the walls of the city. The two remaining sites adjoin very ancient Jewish cemeteries on the east and north of the city, and both are traditionally associated with great tragedies in Jewish history. The arguments for the second site were fully stated by Fergusson in 1847 (*Antient Topography of Jerusalem*, Weale), and, though generally ignored or rejected by experts, are by no means finally disposed of. The arguments which identify the Damascus Gate site with the Calvary of the Gospels are strongly supported by many modern experts, and though lacking the support of ecclesiastical tradition, this site is for many reasons attracting increasing public attention.

If we may for the sake of argument provisionally reject the popular view that Constantine's famous Church, the Anastasis, was erected over the reputed Holy Sepulchre, we shall be in a better position to understand the reasons that probably determined the selection of that Church's original site. For mere memorial purposes the Anastasis and other Churches might well have been built at any of the sites above described. Their original location must clearly have been determined by many practical motives altogether apart from any question about the position of the Holy Sepulchre. Convenience of management and facility of defence, amongst others, were two main considerations which could not have been disregarded

[1] Jeremiah, xxxi, 38–40.

by Constantine's advisers. The question of the truth of a Jewish sepulchre, the position of which cannot be determined from Scripture or from the writings of any of the early Fathers, and which during the Roman period had been concealed for 300 years, may well have appeared to Macarius and his advisers at the time a very secondary consideration. They doubtless well understood the spirit of their own age; the longing to possess a visible and material symbol which would remind men of the Resurrection; and the readiest mode of solving all doubts about the Tomb by finding at the auspicious moment the true Cross under conditions which all their contemporaries would recognise as miraculous. No one can fail to see that events happened precisely as was inevitable. The truth of the site was proved by the famous "Invention of the Cross" traditionally discovered on the very day that the Anastasis was dedicated, and if this tradition, which is as old as 385 A.D., be true, it clearly proves that the Cross was discovered some time *after* the site of the famous Anastasis was fixed (*Pilgrimage of St. Silvia*, Palestine Pilgrim's Text Society, p. 76, and printed in Mgr. Duchesne's *Christian Worship*). In any case, whatever doubts might, before that discovery, have been felt about the truth of the Sepulchre were officially and finally set at rest for all true believers. But the spirit of our own day is very different, and we are compelled by the force of circumstances to approach the subject from an altogether different point of view. We can easily realise the fact that for mere memorial purposes any site within the city would have been more or less appropriate for the erection of Constantine's Churches, but for political and administrative reasons it was clearly necessary that the site selected should be at once convenient for ecclesiastical management, and defensible in case of external danger. These objects could only be attained by building these churches *within the walls*, in the most central and defensible position that could be found. The fact that the real Golgotha and the Tomb were notoriously outside the walls may seem to modern critics a fatal objection to the selection of any site within the walls; but in Constantine's day the question of the truth of the site was probably entirely subordinate to the practical considerations already mentioned. If the real sites were known or suspected to be outside the walls they were clearly unsuitable either for the erection of memorial buildings or for purposes of defence. The simplest course plainly was to ignore the real sites altogether, and to build the

Memorial Churches where they could most conveniently be placed. That Macarius and his supporters should have acted in this way will seem to many minds quite excusable under all the circumstances of his day; but that enlightened opinion in our day should treat this action, or as some would term it "pious fraud," as settling for all time the truth of the site seems plainly absurd; and until we can realise the literal fact that the traditional Holy Sepulchre is not a cave, or Jewish tomb at all, but merely an artificial construction of stone and marble, erected *on the floor* of a comparatively modern church, it is impossible to make intelligible to those who have not seen it or studied the evidence either of the real character of the Tomb, or the topography of Jerusalem, of which it is the central feature.

St. Willibald, who visited Jerusalem *circ.* 765, frankly tells us that there was a church in the place called Calvary. "This was formerly outside Jerusalem, but Blessed Helena, when she found the Cross, fixed that place inside Jerusalem." "*Et hæc fuit prius extra Hierusalem, sed Beata Helena quando invenerit crucem collocavit illum locum intus in Hierusalem.*" (Acta Sanctorum Ord. Benedicti. Sæc. III, para. II, p. 375 *et seq.*) This testimony is quite distinct, and is entirely in accordance both with historical probability, and with common sense. The author of the *Guide Book to Palestine, circ.* A.D. 1350, published by the Palestine Pilgrim's Text Society, describes at p. 5 the position of the Sepulchre, "which up to the time of the Emperor Ælius Hadrian was without the Gate." If this testimony be accepted, it is surely waste of time to argue that the Sepulchre has always been shown in the place within the walls where it now stands, or that the present site was ever outside the second wall of Herod. The perverted ingenuity displayed in arguing these points clearly shows that the supporters of tradition feel their position to be insecure; and when they are reduced to argue that the traditional site is at any rate "not impossible," we may feel quite sure that the position is felt to be untenable. Numerous writers, including Fergusson, have drawn attention to many other points which clearly suggest that the real site of the Sepulchre was known to have been originally outside the walls; and it seems very difficult to resist the conclusion that this site has been changed more than once, first in the fourth century by ecclesiastical arrangement, and afterwards, during the Mahomedan period, by necessity, to suit the political exigencies of the time. Fergusson

and others have argued with great force that a transfer of the original memorial site took place during the Mahomedan period, *circ.* 969 A.D., when Constantine's Basilica was burned by Muez;[1] and to suppose that Christian monks would have been allowed by their conquerors since the time of Omar (A.D. 636) to remain in undisturbed possession of sites in the Holy City equally coveted (though for very different reasons) by Christians and Mahomedans alike, requires not only abnormal faith, but a strange appreciation of ordinary history. The irony of circumstances, as Fergusson points out,[2] has never been more forcibly displayed than during the brief interval when the Crusaders were in possession of Jerusalem, and found themselves, by the fortune of war, in the remarkable position of having two rival sites for the Holy Sepulchre to choose from. They then deliberately adhered to the Memorial site which the Christian community had been allowed by their Mahomedan conquerors to occupy in place of the historical buildings from which they appear to have been ejected, and when the Crusaders were subsequently expelled from Jerusalem, the Christians were contemptuously left in undisturbed possession of their own buildings, with which the Mahomedans had no political or religious reason for interfering. These are the buildings which now exist, and if anyone can, in the face of the architectural and topographical evidence, believe them to be the original buildings of Constantine or built near their original site, he must possess indeed that robust faith which is capable of "removing mountains," and which argument of any kind is little likely to disturb. Mr. Fergusson may be right or wrong in his contention that the so-called Mosque of Omar and the Golden Gateway are Christian constructions of the age of Constantine; but no one can resonably doubt that the key of Jerusalem topography is held by the power which for the time being controls and guards the secrets of the Holy City. As long as the *Haram-el-Sherif* is jealously guarded by the Turks, these secrets are little likely to be revealed, and many will see in this state of things a definite limit placed to the possibilities of effectual exploration in this direction, and the necessary uncertainty of all speculations regarding the position of the Holy Sepulchre or of Constantine's Memorial Churches.

[1] Fergusson's *Antient Topography of Jerusalem*, p. 164.
[2] *Id.*, p. 174 *seq.*

There is a popular tradition in the Holy City, current we are told amongst Christians and Mahomedans alike, that when Christian troops enter Jerusalem through the Golden Gateway the Turkish domination will be at an end. This tradition was not mentioned in Fergusson's account of that remarkable building, printed in pp. 94-102 of *Antient Topography of Jerusalem*, published in 1847; but if his speculation be correct, that the gateway was once the propylaeum or festal entrance of Constantine's Basilica, known as the Marturion, the interest of the tradition is unquestionably very great. The fact that no vestige of this famous Basilica now remains is attributed by Albericus to the order of El Hakim to level it with the ground, "solo aequare mandavit." William of Tyre describes this building as "usque ad solum diruta" (Lib. I, cap. IV); but if Fergusson's theory be correct the foundations almost certainly remain, and could probably be found by excavation. That the Turkish Government would ever voluntarily allow such excavations to be made in the Haram area is, under present circumstances, doubtless inconceivable; but until this is done, the truth of Fergusson's theory can never be effectually tested, and the problem of Constantine's Churches will remain, as it is at present, one of the principal unsolved problems of the Holy City.

THE SITE OF CAPERNAUM.

By Dr. E. W. G. Masterman.

The very important observations made by Mr. Macalister in the neighbourhood of *Telḥûm*[1] may, I fear, on account of their brevity and incidental mention, be overlooked by students of New Testament topography. The site of Capernaum has, in Anglo-American Protestant circles at any rate (not, I believe, with Roman Catholics and Jews), been a subject of such divided opinion that any new

[1] "Diary of a Visit to Ṣafed," *Quarterly Statement*, 1907, pp. 116-120. (On p. 105, line 4, read *east* for *west*, *ib.* l. 22, *wooden* should be *wooded*, p. 108, l. 7 from foot, for *there* read *these*; p. 109, l. 13, for *Alma* read *Ahma*; l. 22, Mawwâsy should be Ḳudarîn; l. 29, 'Ain Salah, which is the name in the P.E.F. Map and *Memoirs*, is not now used, this spring is called 'Ain el-Kaḥâleh.)

facts bearing on the question must be valuable. Mr. Macalister's deductions from the pottery, which, I may say, would have been convincing to any unbiased and intelligent student, who like myself had had the privilege of going over the ground with him, are, from the point of this controversy, epoch-making. They show conclusively that the long credited *Khan Minyeh* sites are untenable. In Mr. Macalister's brief report he has, however, only dealt with the negative side of the question. I wish to deal here, in a very brief way, with the positive evidence in favour of *Tell̥ûm*, which to me, after several months of studying the question in the immediate neighbourhood, appears overwhelming. While abbreviating my arguments as much as possible, I am not intentionally avoiding any difficulty.

The sources of our information regarding the site of Capernaum are: 1. The New Testament; 2. Josephus; 3. The early and mediæval pilgrim writings; 4. Certain Jewish writings; and 5. The modern ruins.

1. From Matthew xiv, 34, Mark vi, 53, and John vi, 17-21, we may infer that Capernaum was close to Gennesaret. The disciples, going to Capernaum, from apparently the east side, landed at Gennesaret. Now although no one will, I think, maintain that Gennesaret ever extended as far as *Tell̥ûm*, yet I see very strong reasons for believing that the district so called (never, be it noted, called "a plain") extended as far as and included the great springs of *et-Tabaghah*.[1] I cannot see how anyone reading the description of Josephus (*B.J.*, iii, 10, 8) can doubt this; the dimensions he mentions imply a much larger area than the narrow limits of *el-Ghuweir* (usually called the "Plain of Gennesaret"), while the varied products of the district were certainly not those of simply an irrigated plain. The new fact that the hill *el 'Oreimeh* was in those days unbuilt upon[2] greatly strengthens this theory—there would have been no break in the fresh fertility all the way from Magdala to *et-Tabaghah*. Viewed from the lake to-day, the whole of this area is a distinct unit; the green hill *'Oreimeh* does not, as it does on land, seem to interrupt or divide the district. Now if this is

[1] This view I first saw enunciated in an article on "Gennesaret," by Prof. W. R. Stevens in the *Baptist Quarterly Review* (U.S.A.), Oct., 1886, and I have gone into it fully in an article, now in the press, in the *Biblical World* (Chicago).

[2] Macalister, *loc. cit.*

admitted, several difficulties are got rid of. The beautiful bay of *el-Tabaghah*, teeming with fish, becomes at once a port of Gennesaret; while, if Capernaum was at *Telḥûm*, this bay must have been the harbour and the fishing station[1] of the town.[2]

The other New Testament references to Capernaum all refer exclusively to the great synagogue there. It is manifest that this was then recently erected under, apparently, government patronage (Luke vii, 5); Jarius was one of the rulers of *the* synagogue of Capernaum (Luke viii, 41, Mark v, 22), in this synagogue our Lord rebuked the Unclean Spirit (Mark i, 21–27, Luke iv, 33–35), here He healed the man with the withered hand on the Sabbath day (Matthew xii, 10–13, Mark iii, 1–5, Luke vi, 6–11), and in the same synagogue He discoursed on the bread of life (John vi, 26 59). It is not far-fetched to suppose that it was because of the presence of this great synagogue that Jesus Christ selected Capernaum as the centre of His Galilean ministry. Now at the end of this paper I shall have occasion to point out that there is one thing for which *Telḥûm* must always be celebrated, and this is the ruined white marble synagogue, which, even in its utter destruction, yet bears eloquent witness to its once unique grandeur.

2. When we turn to Josephus we find two statements bearing on the subject. In his "Life" we read[3] that he was injured while fighting near Bethsaida Julias (in *el-Bataihah*), and that he "was carried into a village Cepharnome," where he received medical advice, and whence he was the next night carried by boat to Tarichaea. It must always be a difficulty with anyone who maintains the *Minyeh* site that, whether carried by sea or land, Josephus must have passed *Telḥûm*, which, if not Capernaum, must, without doubt, from the extent of the ruins, have been the largest Jewish town on the north shore: it is difficult to suggest any reason why Josephus should not have found the assistance he needed there.

The second reference in Josephus occurs in connection with the well-known description of Gennesaret. At the conclusion Josephus states: "It (*i.e.* Gennesaret) is also watered by a most fertile fountain. The people of the country call it Capharnaum. Some have thought

[1] Hence it is *possible* there was here a Bethsaida or fishing place, not a town but a suburb of Capernaum.

[2] Rob Roy brought against *Telḥûm* the argument that there was nowhere a harbour.

[3] *Life of Flavius Josephus*, § 72.

it to be a vein of the Nile because it produces the Coracin fish as well as does that lake which is near to Alexandria."[1] Now, anyone describing this district might refer to many springs, but none have any claim to *special* mention compared with that great fountain now rising in the ruined octagonal basin, called after *Sheikh 'Ali edh-Dhather*. Of it the late Sir Charles Wilson wrote: "it is by far the largest spring in Galilee, and was estimated to be more than half the size of the celebrated source of the Jordan at Banias. It rises to the surface with great force, at a temperature of 86·5°. It is without doubt the fountain of Capharnaum, mentioned by Josephus as watering the plain of Gennesaret."[2] The only objection anyone can raise is that it does not water any large part of *the plain* of Gennesaret; it, with its associated smaller springs, only watered, probably in New Testament days, that particularly fruitful and attractive corner of the district known to-day as *et-Tabaghah*, unless, as is highly improbable, the aqueduct round the seaward aspect of the hill *el 'Oreimeh* is pre-Arabic work. But the fact is *el Ghuweir* is abundantly supplied with water from *Ain et-Medawwereh*, *Wady er-Rûbûdîyeh*, and *Wady el 'Amûd*, with some small assistance from the shore-spring *'Ain et-Tineh*. Capernaum itself may have drawn all its needed water from the lake—as the lake-side dwellers do to-day at Tiberias and elsewhere—though there are indications that there was once an aqueduct to the town from the Jordan, but that a spring so near, within two miles, should have been called after the town which owned it and utilized its waters is only natural. Even to-day the *Telhûm* property extends close to this spring, the actual boundary being the adjoining spring known as *Hammâm Eyyûb*. By his reference to the Coracinus fish, Josephus has introduced what has seemed to many a difficulty. The Coracinus or cat-fish (*Charias macrocanthus*) is almost ubiquitous along the north shore of the lake, it finds its way up every stream in the early months of the year, during the breeding season, in myriads.[3] I have watched numbers of these interesting creatures gliding about in the waters of *'Ain et-Tineh*, but so far as I can find out, both from personal observation and local enquiries, it *does not* occur to-day in the waters of the *Birket Sheikh 'Ali edh-Dhather*. The statements that it has been seen there are founded

[1] *B.J.*, III, 10, 8.

[2] *Recovery of Jerusalem*, p. 348.

[3] See the graphic description of Canon Tristam in the Memoirs of the *P.E.F.* "Flora and Fauna," pp. 196–70.

upon a mistake.[1] One, however, asks: how could this fish get there now? The cat-fish ascends all the streams for breeding purposes, it can creep along streams so shallow that but half its body is submerged, it can even cross patches of dry land, but that it should be able to insinuate its bulky head through the yards of broken masonry amid which the water of the *Birket* pours at headlong speed, or enter it over the 28 feet high surrounding wall, is inconceivable. But the *Birket* itself is but Arabian work, while its present state of ruin a matter of less than a century. That the cat-fish must have found its way to the spring under other conditions is not merely probable, but certain.

3. When we turn to the record of Christian pilgrims, we find that their accounts are all, without break, in favour of the *Telḥûm* site until we come to the seventeenth century. There appears to have been no controversy regarding the site all the previous centuries. It is true that the writings of some of these pilgrims have been quoted by Robinson[2] as supporting another view, but the reason for this is that he failed to recognise the geographical situation of a certain place referred to by a long succession of pilgrims; a "fixed point," as it were, from which distances to other places were calculated. This place was *et-Tabaghah*. What was *et-Tabaghah* in the days of the pilgrims? In an article on *Tabaghah* by M. Heidet, a translation of which appears in *Das Heilige Land*,[3] it is clearly shown that this name is a survival of the *Heptapagon* or *Septem fontes* of the Greek and Latin writers respectively. Although the derivation is not very evident in writing, the pronunciation of the two words, as pronounced by the Bedawin, with something of an aspirate on the first syllable, becomes:—

het'-tab-(a)gha = et tabaghah.
hep-tap-(a)gon = Heptapagon.

[1] As regards Mr. Macalister's remarks in *Q.S.*, 1907, p. 119, I am sorry to say he is mistaken about Rob Roy's observations (see *Rob Roy on the Jordan*, pp. 368, 370), and I regret to find Father Beiver, who told us he had seen the *Coracinus* in the *Birket*, was mistaken, as he had had quite another fish than the well-known cat-fish pointed out to him as the Coracinus. When I told him the Coracinus was the *barbût* or cat-fish, he at once said he had never seen it or heard of its occurrence in this *Birket*.

[2] *Biblical Researches*, Vol. III, pp. 347–58.

[3] *Das Heilige Land*, Heft 5, pp. 210–228. My quotations of the statements of the Pilgrims are partly from Robinson (*loc. cit.*), and partly from this article.

Indeed, Father Beiver, of the *Tabaghah* hospice, who pointed out this similarity in pronunciation to me, further said that the Greek γ had something in it of an ع (âin) sound. Whether this is true or not, the derivation is, I take it, certain.

Now, by early Church tradition—worthless perhaps to us from the point of view of the New Testament, but important for the present purpose—those biblical incidents are localised in the neighbourhood of the Heptapagon, and therefore of *et-Tabaghah*. They are:—

(1) The feeding of the five thousand (Matt. xiv, 15–21, etc.).

(2) The place of Benediction, *i.e.*, the scene of the long discourse of Matthew v–viii, followed by the healing of the leper, the site of which miracle was also pointed out.

(3) The appearance of Christ by the Lake side after His Resurrection; indeed, all the events of John xxi.

Of these the first two are the earlier traditions, and can be traced back to the fourth century. These events were commemorated by a succession of churches and convents which arose here during the centuries. The first event (1) was specially localized on the hill to the east of the *Tabaghah* plain, and there may still be seen the apse of a chapel erected near a cave, now called *Mugharet Eyyub* (Job's Cave), where, by tradition, our Lord retired to pray (Matt. xiv, 23) after the miracle. The second event is associated by many with a spot further north, near the head of the *Wady et-Tabaghah*, where there is a tree known as *Shajaret el-Mubarakeh*; while the third event was connected with a spot some twenty yards from the shore, near where the mills now are. A long stone—possibly once a dolmen—called *Mensa Christi* was once shown here, but during the centuries, while the tradition of the *Mensa* or Table remained, the name was given, now to the table-like stone where the Resurrection meal was, now to the before-mentioned eastern hill, and at last to the open plain between the hill, where a late pilgrim supposed that the five thousand dined, as it were, "at the Table of Christ." Some amount of detail has been gone into with regard to these ecclesiastical traditions, because pilgrim after pilgrim, who, one may add, all looked upon this as the site more worth visiting, state that Capernaum was two miles from this spot.

Theodosius (530) describes his journey as two miles from Tiberias to Magdala; thence to the "Seven Fountains," where was

the "multiplying of the bread," seven miles; from this to Capernaum two miles, and thence to Bethsaida (east of the Jordan) six miles.

ARCULFUS, at the end of the seventh century, after describing the place of the feeding of the five thousand, says: "from whence along the margin of the same lake, by not a long circuit they arrive at Capernaum along the shore." He did not himself visit it, but seeing it from the distance described it as without a wall, "and being confined to a narrow space, between the mountain and the lake, it extended a long way upon the shore from west to east, having the mountain on the north and the lake on the south." This is, one may add, a very fair description of the position of *Telhûm* as viewed from a little distance, *e.g.*, the hills about *et-Tabaghah*; the ruins form a mere fringe along the shore, and immediately to the north of them the hills begin to rise; the town of the living never apparently extended beyond the narrow plain, though in the *Wady Kerazeh* is the extensive Necropolis.

WILLIBERT (eighth century), in his itinerary, visited the holy sites in the following order:—Magdala (*Megdel*), Capernaum (*Telḥûm*), Bethsaida (*et-Tell*), Corazin (*Kerazeh*), and thence to the sources of the Jordan.

EPIPHANIOS (tenth century) describes Capernaum as two miles from the Castle Heptapagon, where there was a large church. The "Castle" was apparently a fortified convent.

During the period of the Crusades a number of pilgrims[1] visited the district; the name Heptapagon appears to have been lost, but the "Mensa" remains, and all describe the place where Jesus fed the five thousand—the "Mensa" at this period—and that where Jesus appeared after His Resurrection as two miles from Capernaum.

In 1283 the Dominican monk BURKHARD (Brocardus) gives a full description of these parts. He describes the Mountain of the Beatitudes to the east of the plain; he states that at the foot of the mountain about thirty paces from the sea arises a fountain of living water, which is encompassed by a wall, and which is supposed to be a vein of the Nile because the Coracinus fish is found there. Josephus, he says, calls this fountain Caphernaum because the whole land from the fountain to the Jordan—a distance of two hours—belonged to Capernaum. He says, that from the "Mensa" is a distance of one hour east to Capernaum and two hours to the Jordan.

[1] M. Heidet (*loc. cit.*) mentions Fratellus (1119), an anonymous pilgrim of 1130, Hegisippus (1170), and Theodorich (1172).

The Italian Dominican Riccoldo (1300) also describes "the table" where Our Lord appeared after His Resurrection as two miles distant from Capernaum.

Ordoricus of Pordenone, a Franciscan monk (1330), visited Bethsaida and Capernaum, "which were separated from each other by the Jordan," and "two miles from Capernaum, near the sea, is the place where the Lord preached to the people . . . If one descends from there one finds the place where the Lord fed the people with the five loaves and the two fishes, it is therefore called the 'Mensa' . . . a little below is the place where the Lord appeared to His disciples after His Resurrection, and ate part of the fish with them."

Father Noe, a Franciscan, in 1508 writes: "Now, if you leave Capernaum and go about two miles you will find a mountain where Our Lord preached and healed the leper; at the foot of this mountain is a plain where our Lord fed the five thousand . . . it is called the table of honour (mensa d'onore)."

The traditions are thus carried on to the sixteenth century. It would then appear that, on account of the growing hostility of the Moslems and the state of disorder in the land, the visiting of these sacred shrines gradually ceased. It was impossible to reach with safety the north end of the lake, and pilgrims were therefore apparently led to a spot near the Horns of Hattin, *from which these sites could be pointed out from the distance*; and from this reason the spot near Hattin gradually came to be accepted as the actual Mount of the Beatitudes, etc., while the site of the Appearance after the Resurrection came to be transferred to the neighbourhood of Tiberias. Hence, in the seventeenth century it is not surprising to find that the site of the ruined Moslem *Khan Minyeh*, and doubtless the remains of the Moslem town of the same name near the *Khan*, are referred to as the ruins of Capernaum. It may be explained by the long break of over a century in the pilgrimages, the insecurity of the country, especially such a spot as *Tell̤hûm*, off the then high road; and doubtless, too, the fact that the recently ruined Arab town must have presented superficially an appearance much more imposing than the half-buried and long ruined remains at *Tell̤hûm*. It is indeed quite probable that when Quaresmius (1640) made his much quoted statement that the site of Capernaum was occupied by a miserable Arabic Khan called *Menich*, he himself had seen the spot only from afar. But the important fact is that his

is the *first and only reference in the pilgrim writings* to Capernaum as in the neighbourhood of *Khan Minyeh*.

4. Considerable stress has been laid on the fact that, in some Talmudic references[1] to Capernaum, mention is made of certain *minim*, *i.e.*, heretics (clearly, from the context, Christians), who lived there. It has been supposed that this word *minim* accounts for the name *Minyeh*, and connects, necessarily, Capernaum with the latter site. But, in the first place, the connection is extremely doubtful, as *Minyeh* seems rather to be derived from *munja*, the name of the Arab town which stood here in the Middle Ages[2]; and, secondly, even if there is a connection between *minim* and *Minyeh*, it proves nothing, as, in the event of Capernaum having been at *Tell*ḥ*ûm*, it is more than probable that the town property extended to the high road here, and that the custom dues were here taken on behalf of the town.

More important than these references is the mention of Capernaum by Jewish pilgrims. They clearly associate Kefr Nahum—the supposed birthplace of the Prophet Nahum—with Tanhum. Thus[3] "Kaphir Tanhum, or Nahhum is to the east of Gennesaret about half an hour" (Rabbi Isaac Farhi 1322). Rabbi Schwarz (1852), in describing Capernaum, says: "This place is now a ruin known to all the Jews, they call it Kepher Tanhum." He says: "there are three tombs there—that of the Prophet Nahhum and of Rabbi Tanhhuma and Tanhhum."

The derivation of *Tell*ḥ*ûm* from Tanhûm is practically certain, for, as Mr. Macalister[4] has pointed out, the place never has been a "tell."

5. When finally we turn to the ruins, what do we find?—

(*a*) A stretch of ruined dwellings, of black basalt, extending along the lake side over a larger area than anywhere on the north shore.

(*b*) Clear indications that, though the surface ruins belong to Arab buildings, the site was long occupied by buildings of the Roman period, whose ruins are now found in the earth a few feet down.

[1] Midrash Rabbah on Ecclesiastes i, 8 and vii, 26.

[2] Or a *munyat Hash*ā*m* which, according to Kazwini's "Lexicon," stood here in the eleventh century (see G. A. Smith in *Encyclopedia Biblica*, Art. "Capernaum").

[3] See also other references in *Ency. Bib., loc. cit.*

[4] *Quarterly Statement, loc. cit.*

(*c*) An extensive necropolis of the Roman period at the adjoining mouth of the *Wady Kerazeh*.

(*d*) The ruins of a large synagogue of beautiful white limestone, a local marble, every fragment of which had to be transported from a distance. The remains, though fragmentary, clearly show that the building here was, allowing for locality and period, of more than ordinary magnificence, finer than any of the other ruined Galilean synagogues, which were indeed apparently modelled after it.[1]

The existing remains are clearly not all of one period, and the extensive pavement to the east of the Roman synagogue would appear to have been not, as it became later, a mere courtyard, but to have been the foundations and pavement of an earlier synagogue to which, too, many of the more primitive of the surviving carved stones belong.

On the whole of the north shore there is nowhere else any indication of any such building, such as might be reasonably expected in the ruins of Capernaum; nor, indeed, as has been shown, is there any other site which was, apparently, from the evidence of the pottery, occupied during New Testament times. There is, lastly, one question which the supporters of the other view never appear to have satisfactorily answered: if not Capernaum, what Jewish city in the days of Christ could have stood at the site of *Telḥûm*?

THE "GARDEN TOMB."

By R. A. Stewart Macalister, M.A., F.S.A.

It is with considerable hesitation that I take in hand the task of writing an article to state my views on the so-called "Garden Tomb," for I shall be compelled to express opinions contrary to those of friends for whom I have a high regard. But, having undertaken the duty, I must speak plainly.

[1] For preliminary account, with a plan and photographs, see *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*, No. 29.

Let me say, first, that I hold no brief for the traditional site of Calvary and the Tomb, within the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. I find it hard to believe that the city wall really formed such a re-entrant angle as is necessary for the authenticity of the church site. And even if so built, such a corner (as everyone who knows oriental cities can easily realize) would rapidly become filled with all manner of offensive rubbish, and would therefore be a most improbable site for the garden of a rich man. A very much stronger chain of record or tradition, than we have any evidence for, must be shown to unite the events of the Crucifixion and entombment with the Empress Helena's expedition, before these objections can be satisfactorily removed. Could a modern investigator expect to find, say, the grave of Samuel Pepys, if it were unmarked by any inscription, and not indicated by any record save that it was somewhere in London?

A preliminary word needs to be said regarding the knoll north of the Damascus Gate, commonly spoken of (in English) as "Gordon's Calvary," "the Green Hill," "the Skull Hill," and like names, though its proper appellation is *El-Edhemîyeh*. The cult of this pseudo-sanctuary is not nearly so objectionable as that of the "Garden Tomb" which is excavated at its foot; but that it is objectionable appears to me for several reasons. In the first place, there is the old argument that there is no evidence whatever that Calvary or Golgotha was a hill at all. It is called a *place* (τόπος) in Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John. There is not the faintest indication that this "place" was elevated ground. The growth of the popular conception of a *hill* has been well traced by Sir C. Wilson in his work on *Golgotha and the Holy Sepulchre*, and has, no doubt, been spread through the English-speaking world by the well-known hymn about the "green hill far away." This hymn is, no doubt, a charming child's poem; but if historic truth be of any importance in connexion with such matters as this, it should be expunged from our hymn-books.[1] Secondly, if the Crucifixion had taken place *on a hill*, the fact would have been so striking that one of the evangelists would have surely remarked upon it: for it would have been an unusual departure from the ordinary Roman practice, to

[1] With it should go that other hymn beginning "By cool Siloam's shady rill how sweet the lily grows." In the whole vast range of English literature there is probably not to be found another sequence of ten words containing a greater number of inaccuracies.

which we have the direct testimony of Quintilian—*Quotiens, noxios crucifigimus*, celeberrimae eliguntur viae *ubi plurimi intueri, plurimi commoveri hoc metu possint. Omnis enim poena non tam ad vindictam pertinet, quam ad exemplum.*[1] Thirdly, much is made of the skull-like appearance of the hill. Now (*a*) "place *of* a skull" does not mean "place *like* a skull." A skull or skulls may have been found there [as at Belaclugga, "the ford-mouth of the skulls," in co. Clare, Ireland], or the word translated "skull" may be a corruption of something entirely different [as in the name of the town of Schull, near Skibbereen, co. Cork]. And (*b*) though now there is a certain resemblance to a skull in the configuration and appearance of the hill, it does not follow that it had the same resemblance in the time of Our Lord. In fact, the view of Jerusalem, from Sandy's *Travels in the Levant*,[2] seems to show that the quarry-scarp, which has made the two prominent "eye-sockets," *had not yet been made* when Sandys sketched his drawing, and that the building to which the larger "eye-socket" originally served as a cistern was still in position at the time.

As for Gordon's rock-contour idea, it is obviously not worth a moment's consideration, for it clearly presupposes that those who named the hill had a contoured map before them! So long as we fix on a site outside the walls of Jerusalem, and near a road, there is nothing whatever in the description of the tragedy to contradict a site west, south, or east of the city.

In short, the arguments in favour of the so-called "skull hill," summarized on p. 270 of the *Quarterly Statement* for 1906, may be met as follows:—

(1) "Its elevation and conspicuous position" the elevation is a serious *objection*; a wayside site would be equally conspicuous.

(2) "Its resemblance to a human skull"—which is later than 1600 A.D., and, in any case, has nothing to do with the name.

(3) "Its proximity to the city and to the great road to the North"—any site whatever within a mile and a half of the city would suit equally well. It is *not near enough* to the roadside. The "North" is a point of no importance.

[1] *Decl.* 274 *ad fin.* That there was no exception to this rule made in Christ's case is indicated by Matt. xxvii, 39, 40, "They that passed by reviled him . . . . . *saying* (λέγοντες)"—not "calling" or "shouting," as would have been necessary had the cross been erected *on a hill over which ran no path.*

[2] *A Relation of a Journey begun An. Dom.* 1610. Third ed. 1627.

(4) "The Jewish tradition which identifies it with the 'Place of Stoning'"—if such a tradition really exists, and is really ancient, it is quite irrelevant. Nowhere is the statement made that the Crucifixion took place in the ordinary site of executions. Joseph's garden would not likely be in the neighbourhood of such a place.

(5) "The tradition relating to the Martyrdom of Stephen"—again perfectly irrelevant.

(6) "The evidence of tombs in the vicinity"—but as there are tombs everywhere round Jerusalem, this is no argument in favour of the suggested site.

Two other arguments are brought forward in Murray's *Guide to Palestine*. The first is that the Jews in passing this hill are in the habit of breathing a curse against Him who destroyed their nation —who invented this statement I know not. The second is that an inscription was found in the neighbourhood commemorating a certain person who was "buried near his Lord"—which is a mistranslation.

The hill might, however, be allowed to continue as a not inconceivable site for the Crucifixion, in the face of all these objections. But nothing whatever can be said in favour of the tomb. Till English Protestantism has rid itself of the incubus with which it has thus burdened itself, not a word dare be spoken against the mediæval ecclesiastics who dealt in "Holy Places." The hard names applied to the sites shown to Arculfus or Felix Fabri can with equal propriety be applied to "Gordon's tomb."

We are told that it is a "Jewish Tomb." If that means a tomb of the sort common between 150 B.C. and 100 A.D., then it is nothing of the kind. It is a pity that so much is claimed for it; the prejudice raised thereby is apt to blind one to the fact that it is a remarkably interesting sepulchre. But it cannot be earlier than 300 A.D. This chronology is indicated by the architecture of the tomb, as compared with others that have been found unrifled and containing dateable objects.

Again, we hear that it is *unfinished*. As a matter of fact it is *over-finished;* it obviously was originally two independent tomb-chambers, which have been united together by breaking the partition between them. But why should Joseph's tomb be supposed to be "unfinished"? It was a *new* tomb, which is something quite different. And it is an importation of modern Western sentiment into the ancient East to assume that Joseph and his family would

not use the tomb for themselves after it had been vacated by the Resurrection.

A good deal is made of a cross with A—ω painted in two places on the wall. Such a graffito is not uncommon, and implies nothing important. An identical graffito is found in a tomb on the roadside leading to the "Tombs of the Judges."

From the gospel narrative we learn that the tomb of Christ was closed by a rolling stone. This was not (as I have once said before, in a previous paper) a flat millstone-like disc, but a globular boulder *not* fitting into a slot in the entrance: that is, it was *not* such a stone as that of the "Tombs of the Kings" or the "Tomb of Herod," but a stone such as is found in one of the Wady er Rababi tombs. This is required by Matt. xxviii, 2. But "Gordon's tomb" was closed not with a movable stone at all, but with a bolted door; the sockets for the bolts and hinges remain in the jambs. There is no evidence whatever to show that this is any modification of the original plan.

The so-called window, through which we have been asked to picture the disciples looking into the tomb, is really the top of the doorway of the originally independent inner chamber, which has been partially blocked up with masonry. The receptacles for the bodies in the tomb are so deep that it would be impossible to see through this window whether anything had happened inside the sepulchre.

In conversation with tourists at the hotel in Jerusalem I constantly hear such a remark as this: "I came to Jerusalem fully convinced that the Church of the Holy Sepulchre was the true site; but I went to the Church and saw all the 'mummery' that goes on there, and I saw the Muhammadan soldiers guarding the place to prevent the Christians fighting. Then I went to that peaceful garden: and then I *knew* that the church was wrong, and that Gordon had found out the real site."[1]

This is the most convincing argument that can be advanced in favour of the tomb, and it is obviously quite unanswerable. But it is hardly so conclusive as to warrant the diversion of large sums of money which might have gone to advance some of the many possible branches of scientific work in Palestine.

[1] It may be mentioned here that, in conversation with Sir Charles Wilson, and after hearing his remarks and objections, General Gordon expressed regret at having committed himself so strongly to this site.—J.D.C.

There are those who do not venture so far as to say that this tomb is the true "Holy Sepulchre," but who say that it is worth while maintaining it "because it shows what the tomb in the garden was like." This is in the spirit of those who treat the "Holy Fire" spectacle as a "beautiful allegory." As a matter of fact, the conception it conveys is erroneous. Joseph's garden was probably a vegetable yard or fruit-orchard, not a modern European *parterre*. And the tomb is too mean to have belonged to a person specially characterized as a "rich man."

The statement that this is the "*only* tomb that answers all the conditions" is not worth discussing. I have endeavoured to show that it answers none of them. And if there were any use in doing so, I think I could point out at least five and twenty tombs round Jerusalem in every respect more suitable.

The true site of the Holy Sepulchre is lost and forgotten, and there is no reason to hope that it will ever be recovered.

SOME NEW INSCRIPTIONS FROM JERUSALEM AND ITS NEIGHBOURHOOD.

By R. A. Stewart Macalister, M.A., F.S.A.

I forward squeezes of a number of inscriptions that have recently come to light in Jerusalem and its neighbourhood.[1]

I. The first is a stone whose inscription has been long known, but it had passed out of sight owing to the demolition of the wall in which it had formerly been built. It has recently been rediscovered in an outbuilding in a garden belonging to the Khaldi family, close to the London Jews Society Hospital. The inscription is fragmentary, the beginnings and ends of the lines being lost. It is correctly given in the Jerusalem volume of the *Memoirs*, but

[1] These are preserved at the Fund's Office, where they may be inspected.—Ed.

the stone is there wrongly said to be part of a sarcophagus. It is really a fragment of a lintel, about 3 ft. in length, 19½ in. in height, 8 in. in thickness, and composed of a reddish limestone. It bears a cross in a circle and the inscription :—

. . . . NHTHC ΘЄ . . . .
. . . . ΙΒΙѠΑΝΝΒ Δ . . . . .
. . . . ΟΦΙΑCΤΟΝ Ι . . . . .
. . . . . ѠΑΝΝΒ Α . . . . .

It can hardly be hoped that anything can be made of this fragment, beyond the name "John." It probably belongs to a lintel of some ecclesiastical building.

II. A marble slab, 17 in. by 9½ in. by 1 in. Diagonally broken at the end, but otherwise perfect. Found in the course of some building excavations undertaken by the Greeks outside the St. Stephen's Gate. (See *Q.S.*, April, pp. 137–139.) The inscription is :—

+ΑΥΤΗΗΠΥΛΗΤΟΥ$\overline{\text{ΚΥ}}$[$\overline{\text{ΧΥ}}$] . . . .
ΕΙCΕΛΕΥCѠΝΤΑΙΕ[Ν . . . . . .
+ΑΓΙΕCΤΕΦΑΝΕΕΥ$\underline{\text{Ζ}}$ . . . . . .

"This is the gate of the Lord Christ . . . . . about to enter in . . . . . Holy Stephen pr[ay . . . . ." The stone is now preserved in the convent of Abraham. The tip only of the Χ remains at the end of line 1.

III. A tombstone 35½ in. by 23 in. by 5 in., apparently intended to stand upright over a grave. Inscribed :—

+ΜΝΗΜΑ
ΜΑΡΙΑC
ΡѠΜΕΑC
+

"The Memorial of Maria, a Roman."

IV. On December 27th, with Mr. Hanauer and Yusif, I visited *'Ain Sâmieh*, a remote spot at the head of the Wady Sâmieh, N.W. of the village of Kefr Mâlek, sheet XV of the inch map. Yusif had heard rumours of illicit digging there, and going to reconnoitre had discovered a Greek inscription, which I was anxious to examine. On our way we passed through the village of *Yebrûd*, between 'Ain Sinia and Selwâd. This seems to have been an important place in Byzantine times: the local *wely*, dedicated to Neby Yusif, is evidently built of the materials of a small Byzantine church, scanty traces of whose foundations appear above ground in an adjoining field.[1] Over the door of the wely is a lintel stone with an ornamental panel; it has borne a cross, which of course has been hammered away. Many drafted stones are to be seen in and around the building. Behind it is lying a fragment of a milestone, 47 in. long and 16 in. in diameter: unhappily the inscription is almost gone, all that is left being:—

NIIVI . . . .
NEPOTIS . . .
. . . . . .
ΑΠΟΚL . . . .

the rest is chipped away.

In the village is a sort of platform used for entertaining guests and as a place for prayer. It is surrounded by a number of large stones, evidently taken from some Byzantine building. There is a Corinthian anta capital, as well as a lintel stone, 69 in. by 17 in.

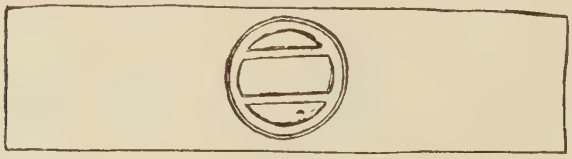


Fig. 1.

by $7\frac{3}{4}$ in. thick, bearing this device on one of its broader faces (fig. 1).

[1] (Mr. Macalister writes that the people informed him that no one can make any use of its sacred tree but the very poor; a man of some property who once attempted to gather firewood off it was seized by the local saint, lifted off the earth and replaced upside down.—Ed.)

But the most interesting object is a stone here shown: it is a hexagonal slab, which has evidently stood on a pedestal (fig. 2). It has four depressions, about 4 in. deep, three of them hexagonal and one circular. I take it to be a chrismatory.

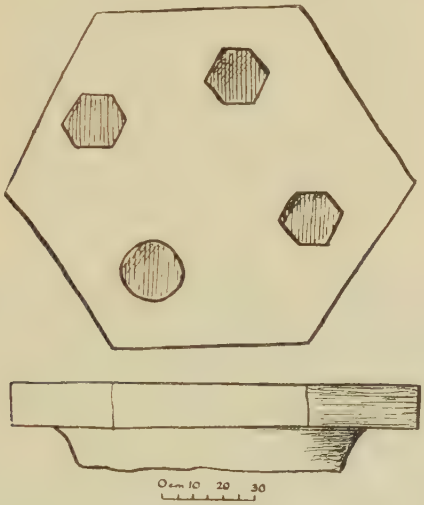


Fig. 2.

V. The 'Ain Sâmieh inscription is cut on the drum of a column 41 in. long, 13 in. in diameter (fig. 3). It is broken at each end. Though for the greater part clear, the inscription is difficult to decipher, especially towards the ends of the lines, which are worn: perhaps three or four letters are lost from the end of each line. I read:—

ЄΠΙΤΔЄCΙΓ̄ . . .
Є[К?]ТХΙ8ΤΑ . . .
ΠSΤЄΥCЄΒЄC . . .
ΛЄ$\overline{\text{CI}}$8CTINIAI . . .
ЄTSΛ̄INΔSĒΠ[Λ?]
CЄΡΙ8ΠЄΡΙΔΥ
ΚΑΡΠΦ . . . . .
CЄΡΓΙ8Ζ . . ΙΠ8
ЄΤΙ . . .

Except for the name of Justinian and the date, it is not easy to see what this inscription means. I had a good deal of trouble with the Kefr Malek people, who endeavoured to tear my squeeze from the stone before it was dry. They are finding digging here very profitable and feared that I might bring the Government down upon them. The site is for the greater part Byzantine or early Arab, but there is evidence of a very ancient settlement whose shaft-tombs the thieves had most unfortunately discovered.

Thanks to the energy of Surraya Effendi, the Commissioner of Antiquities, this stone has been rescued and with great labour brought to Jerusalem, where it is now to be seen in the Government

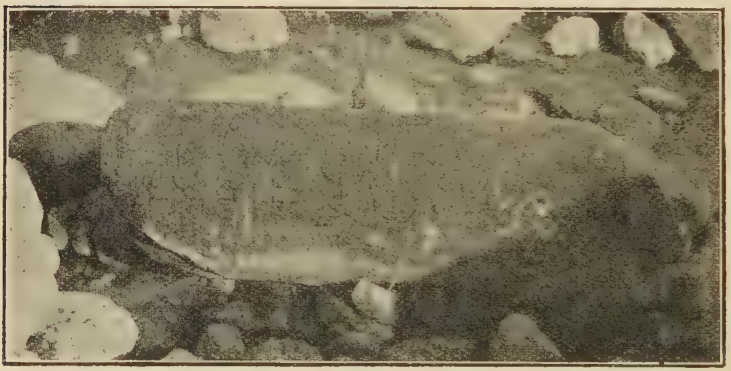


Fig. 3.

museum. The illicit digging that threatened to ruin an important ancient site has been stopped.

VI. Fragment of a Roman inscription found in the Muristan, now preserved in Abraham's convent (fig. 4).

VII. As I finish this paper, Surraya Effendi brings me a small fragment of a marble slab, $9\frac{1}{4}$ in. by 8 in. by 1 in., bearing a few letters of a Greek inscription. I forward a facsimile. The letters shew traces of having been picked out with red paint. It is evidently part of a tombstone, dated (as the surviving fragment shews) by the era of Eleutheropolis (fig. 5).

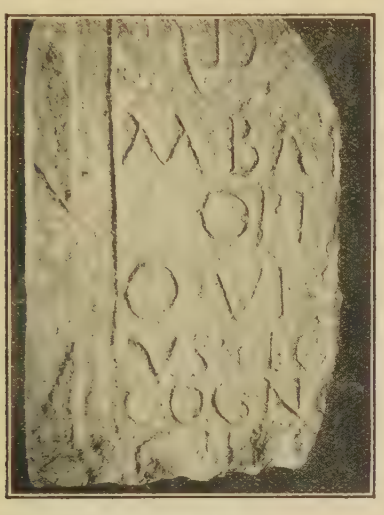


Fig. 4.

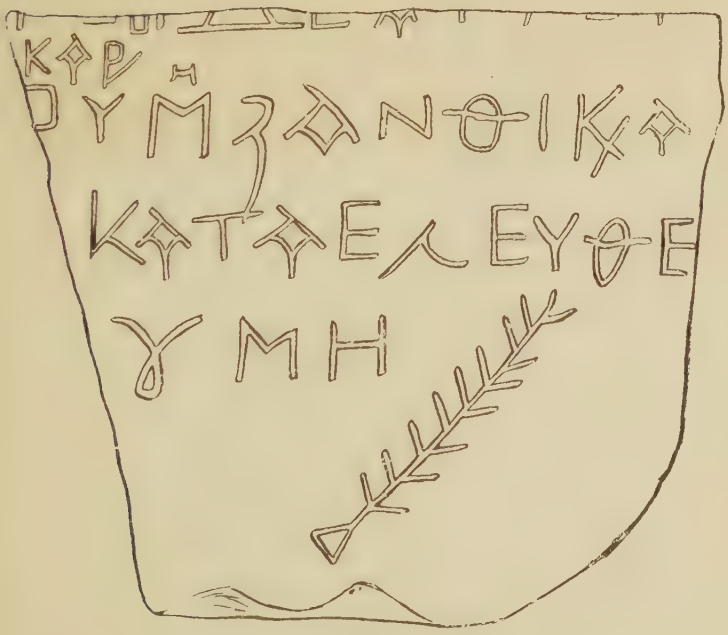


Fig. 5.

THE "PHILISTINE" GRAVES FOUND AT GEZER.

By J. L. Myres, M.A., F.S.A.

The structure of these tombs[1] agrees in general with that of the "shaft graves" of Mycenae and Knossos, which belong to the Late Minoan period (1300—1000 B.C.), and more closely with the Carian tombs at Assarlik (Termera), which Mr. W. R. Paton and I called *fossa* tombs and assigned to the very end of the Mycenaean or late Minoan age (*J.H.S.* VIII, 74; XIV, 244–5; compare Winter, *Mitth. Ath.* XII, 225 ff.).[2] Professor Sayce tells me that there are similar tombs round Mount Tmolus in Lydia. No such type is known to me in Cyprus, or anywhere else in the Levant. The Carian parallel is important in view of the fifth century tradition that a "Carian" sea power followed the Achaean domination of Agamemnon and the Trojan War (1200—1150): and the Lydian analogy illustrates the Greek legend of a similar "Lydian" sea power which had direct dealings with the Philistine coast. For the date of this (*ca.* 1050—960, if not earlier) see my paper in *J.H.S.* XXVI, 127–9.

The contents, meanwhile, recall the art of Cyprus in the period next following the Mycenaean age. The pilgrim bottle (No. 1) seems to belong to the early part of the Graeco-Phoenician period, which follows the Mycenaean and is characterized by the first copious use of iron; but it is not exactly of any Cypriote type.

[1] See above, pp. 197–203.

[2] The following abbreviations are used in these notes :—

C.M.C. = *Cyprus Museum Catalogue.* Oxford. 1899.

Exc. Cypr. = *Excavations in Cyprus.* British Museum. 1900.

J.H.S. = *Journal of Hellenic Studies.* London.

K.B.H. = M. Ohnefalsch-Richter. *Kypros, the Bible, and Homer.* Berlin. 1893.

Salaminia = A. P. di Cesnola. *Salaminia.* London. 1882.

Mitth. Ath. = *Mittheilungen d. k. k. Deutschen Instituts* (*Athenische Abtheilung*). Athens.

The ladle (2) belongs to a series which comes into the Eastern Mediterranean in Mycenaean time and persists till the fifth century in Cyprus. I have seen examples from Cyprus with the square chamfered stem and ring handle, but not from recorded tombs. The thin rectangular plate (3) recalls the Cypriote mouth-plates which were placed on the lips of the corpse from Mycenaean times (*Exc. Cypr.* VI, VII, VIII [Enkomi]) to the sixth century (*Salaminia*, II, 10 (Æ); *C.M.C.* 4343). The later Cypriote examples are generally more lozenge-shaped, but the early ones (late Mycenaean) are often rectangular. The lotus-bowl (4) also seems to belong to the mixed Graeco-Phoenician art of the early Iron Age: somewhat similar decoration on Cypriote pottery marks the influence of the XXVIth dynasty; but there is also a series of blue-glazed bowls which belongs to Mycenaean Cyprus, and has its inspiration from the XVIIIth dynasty; and this example looks like a rather degenerate product of this earlier school. The mirror (5) is not sufficiently characteristic to give a date: it lacks the volutes which characterize the better mirrors of the sixth and fifth centuries, and, provisionally, I put it earlier.

The bracelet (6), apart from its clasp, looks like an early example of a class which becomes common in Cyprus in the later Graeco-Phoenician age; but the plan of leaving the ends open for a supplementary fastening is best illustrated by a series of ear-rings of early Iron Age date (*C.M.C.* 8003; *K.B.H.* CLXXXII, 1), which end in two loops, and were tied through the ear by a thread. The peculiar clasp is, perhaps, suggested by the swivel-mounted rings of Egyptian type and very various dates (*Exc. Cypr.* XIV, 26 [Amathus]).

The beads and pendants give the same general impression. Rough pendant-stones like (12) (13) (14) are not uncommon in the early Iron Age graves in Cyprus (*Exc. Cypr.*, XIV, 11 [Amathus]; *Salaminia* XVI, 11, 19), and are occasionally carved into human heads. The agate bead (15) is of a type which begins in late Mycenaean Cyprus (*Exc. Cypr.* VI, 604 [Enkomi]), and goes on into the Hellenic Age (*id.* XIII, 34, 36, XIV, 18 [Amathus]). The necklaces made up of all sorts of curious beads are very characteristic of the early Iron Age; those of earlier and of later date than this are usually quite formal. The presence of steatite scarabs and beads points the same way; in Cyprus steatite gives place to hard stone scaraboids before the sixth century. The "gum," or "resin,"

of Mr. Macalister's description will very likely turn out to be amber, which occurs rarely in early Iron Age tombs in Cyprus (*C.M.C.*, p. 139 [Paphos] and 184 [Curium: late Mycenaean]), usually in the form of single beads in a mixed chain. But Cyprus has also a series of beads of a dull brown vitreous material, which is very likely a coarse glass, perhaps meant to *imitate* the rarer amber. For wireties like (10), compare *Exc. Cypr.* XIII, 20 [Curium], XIV, 22 [Amathus].

But the most characteristic object is No. 21. This granular gold-work begins in Cyprus in the late Mycenaean tombs (*Exc. Cypr.* VIII [Enkomi], XIII, 18 [Curium]; *C.M.C.*, p. 184 (30, 44) [Curium]), and reappears in the Hellenic (*Exc. Cypr.* XIV, 12 [Amathus]; *C.M.C.*, 4067-9, 4074, 8354 [Amathus]) as late as the fifth century. In the interval very little gold-work appears in Cyprus at all, but I have seen several examples which are closely like this one, both in technique and in design. The little discs of gold recall also the late Mycenaean treasure from Ægina (British Museum, *J.H.S.* XIII, 197, 202-3) which belongs to the ninth century at latest; similar discs are common in the later tombs at Mycenae (Athens Museum); but they do not recur in Hellenic Cyprus, or, so far as I know, in the later Graeco-Phoenician tombs there.

A bead with triple perforation, to keep a threefold chain parallel with itself, which Mr. Macalister has described to me in a letter, is also very characteristic of late Mycenaean and subsequent early Iron Age jewellery: like so much else in Cyprus, it runs on into the local Hellenic art of the sixth and fifth centuries; but it has its beginnings at Enkomi (*Exc. Cypr.*, VI, 604; XII, 395). The signet-ring (19) is also of an early Iron Age type; and the Egyptian eye-pendant belongs in Cyprus to the tombs with fibulae and chains of miscellaneous beads, which seem to cease before the XXVIth dynasty, and probably before the Assyrian protectorate of 709 B.C.

While, therefore, the structure and ritual of these tombs connects them with the period of Ægean Sea Raids, and with Greek traditions referring to the centuries from the thirteenth to the tenth, the contents would favour a rather late date, or at least a lower *limit* of date. And this is just what we should expect if they represented the burials of a people who had invaded the Philistine coastland in the period of the Sea Raids, and maintained themselves there, in occasional contact with Cyprus, but not with anything further west, for a century or two after the tenth. This

general character and these limits of date would, therefore, agree closely with the little that we know of the Philistine occupation of Philistia. To call them the tombs of "Ægean Intruders" would, I think, be safe already: to label them provisionally "Philistine" would not be over-bold.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

Earthquake Superstition.—The *Quarterly Statement* for April contains two references to the recent excitement in Palestine in expectation of an earthquake. The well-known earthquake of 1837 destroyed a great part of Safed, did damage in Tiberias, &c., and a recurrence was looked for because it was now 70 years since. On page 83, Dr. Masterman is quoted: "It seems that it is stated in the Zohar that under the earth there is a great sleeping beast—the Leviathan—and that every 70 years he has to change his position. When he does this an earthquake is produced." If I may be allowed, for brevity, to assume what I think I can prove, Leviathan corresponds to Typhon of the Egyptians, called by Wilkinson a snake-giant (*Anc. Egy.*, abridged ed., I, 330). He was thought of as lying along the underground path of the sun, from one equinox to the other—the winter half of the ecliptic circle. The equinoctial points slowly change, bringing the astronomical spring some twenty minutes earlier year by year. The rate is difficult to measure, and the change is to ordinary observation imperceptible. But it amounts to a whole day in 72 years; and this was perceived by the ancients. They had learned to identify midsummer day by the method of shadows; but they had also a method by the rising or the culmination of stars, and the sun and stars were found to fall more and more out of accord. The difference was one degree in 72 years, and on the recurrence of that period the festival of the solstice or the equinox must be held one day earlier. The insidious movement of precession had always been going on; but it was only when it amounted to a full day that a readjustment was called for in chart and calendar and ritual.

The practical shifting of the solstice or the equinox was the "earthquake:" the boundaries of the upper and lower hemispheres were changed, at the autumn point Leviathan had advanced his head, at the spring point he had withdrawn his tail.

The facts underlying the ancient mythology admitted of various expression in the symbolic language. In Mr. Macalister's diary of his visit to Safed (*Q.S.*, April, p. 111) we have a variant form of the present-day tradition. "Earthquakes are caused (according to local belief) by the turning of a monster who, Atlas-like, supports the earth—others say by the ox which balances the world on the tip of his horn throwing it to the other horn, to relieve his tensioned muscles."

This seems to direct us to the spring equinox and to a people whose New Year's Day was fixed at that season. There is a consensus of testimony that when the ancient calendars began, the spring constellation or sign was Taurus. A well-known line in Virgil implies distinctly that the year began (that the sun crossed the equator at spring) when the sun was on the Bull's horns. This was not really the case in Virgil's time—he only repeated the tradition of the fathers—and the date when the description was true would be, according to the late R. A. Proctor, B.C. 3400 (*Knowledge*, May, 1888). A system or calendar thus resting on the spring equinox in Taurus might be said to have the Bull constellation for its foundation. It is now well known that in the Assyrian calendar the spring sign was called Stone of Foundation, and the autumn sign the Stone opposite the Foundation. The precession of the equinox shifts this foundation, of course, and at about the period named by Mr. Proctor the equinoctial colure literally passed from one horn to the other, as the Bull is figured.

GEO. ST. CLAIR.

THE PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

NOTES AND NEWS.

The Second Report, since the resumption of the excavation of Gezer, furnishes many new and varied items of interest. Some early Christian tombs, Byzantine objects, a good example of a Roman bath, and sundry remains of the Hellenistic period, are among the features of the relatively later ages. For older times, Mr. Macalister records that another "high-place" has now been found; it has a row of stones similar in some respects to the famous alignment discovered previously. Hard by was a curious foundation-sacrifice. The discovery of a zodiacal tablet in débris contemporary with the Amarna period will excite general discussion, and in view of the general resemblance which it bears to the familiar Babylonian examples, the presence of astronomical symbolism in Ancient Palestine is significant. Mention may also be made of a very fine Babylonian seal of a somewhat later period. Both appear to represent native forms. Apart from a later inscribed weight, legible, but of unknown interpretation, the chief epigraphical novelty is a small stamped jar-handle, the writing on which appears to find its closest analogy in the old Aramean inscription of Bar-rekub at Zenjirli. But who or what is meant by its legend *h-y-r-t* is a problem which must be left for others to solve.

Prof. Sellin's excavation at Jericho has already revealed many interesting features. He has found an old Canaanite castle, one of the best specimens of its kind. The objects deposited therein were more suggestive than informing: potsherds with animal figures in fine relief, bronze hatchets, and close by, twenty-two small unburnt clay-tablets, evidently for use—but (unfortunately for the excavator) without any writing! A clay idol with an ox-head (the horns broken off), the whole only 8 centimetres in height, was found in the same place. The city-wall was also reached; its appearance at once reminded Prof. Sellin of Babylonian types. Strange to say,

steps were found leading from the top of the wall to the plain. The ruins of a private house, or rather of a series of buildings raised each upon its predecessor, gave household articles of all periods; but even the topmost were Canaanite, so that a lengthy duration of this culture seems to be involved. Here also were two clay-tablets—again not yet used; of particular interest was a stone idol, male, of primitive workmanship, about 20 cm. high. A jar-handle too, deserves mention as bearing two old Hebrew characters, one certainly a *yôd*, and the other "probably" *hê*. Prof. Sellin observes tentatively that this provides a very important argument for the view that the Canaanites already possessed the old alphabet (Phoenician—Moabite—Old Hebrew) about 1500 B.C. The publication of this jar-handle will be awaited with interest; meanwhile, it is to be observed that the evidence may admit of another explanation—the persistence of the culture of "about 1500 B.C." to a date much later than commonly supposed.

In *Home Words for Jerusalem* for June, Dr. Wheeler gives the following account of the quarter's work:—

"There have been nearly a hundred in-patients more than for the same quarter last year, and yet we have had no epidemic of any kind up to this time. Fever has been more prevalent than usual, and we have had a greater number of children ill with it. We had an interesting case of congenital fever, *i.e.*, born with fever, of a baby of four months. The mother suffered severely from malaria before the birth of the child, and after; she attributes the baby's infection through her milk. These cases are very rare, and are of special interest. The child had a large spleen, and had regular attacks of fever in the Hospital. She improved gradually on quinine and good nursing. Several of our boys have been ill in the Hospital, but are now convalescent. We hope to have our out-patients' extension soon finished; we need it very badly. The numbers that come for dressings are very great, and at times there is hardly any room for them; for at the same time there are as many waiting for their prescriptions to be made up, and these together form a large crowd, all anxious to be attended to at once. There is naturally a good deal of jostling and impatience shown, but on the whole they behave well, and wait patiently for hours. The number of eye cases is increasing, especially among the infants. We have had some good operations. The nursing staff,

although reduced, are working excellently, and do all they can to meet the demands made on them. The Dispensary staff is very hard worked, as the long list of prescriptions show:—In-patients, 444; out-patients, 4,224; home visits, 1,349; dressings, 6,095; prescriptions, 9,549; receipts, 21,891."

It may be mentioned that *Home Words* (Jerusalem) is giving a full reproduction of Mr. Macalister's recent article on the "Garden Tomb" for its interest to local readers.

Mr. Griffith has written to point out that the scarab represented in the last number of the *Quarterly Statement* (Plate I, no. 17, p. 199), gives the name of Rameses IV. This gives at any rate the upper limit of date, although a later date is not excluded for the workmanship.

Mr. Offord informs us of the discovery by Père Delattre at Carthage of a seal bearing the inscription "to Joab." It has been assigned to the 7th or 6th century, and the script is probably Hebrew. It is worth mentioning if only on account of the seal "to Asaph" which Dr. Schumacher found at Tell el-Mutesellim (*Quarterly Statement*, p. 78 *sq.*).

Mr. J. Jamal reports that the amount of rain which fell in Jaffa during the winter season, commencing on October 7th, 1906, and ending April 9th, 1907, was as follows:—

3	days in	October, 1906	...	·85 inches.
4	„	November, 1906	...	5·20 „
5	„	December, 1906	...	1·90 „
12	„	January, 1907	...	7·05 „
9	„	February, 1907	...	2·60 „
6	„	March, 1907	...	3·75 „
3	„	April, 1907	...	·90 „
42	days	... ...	...	22·25 inches.

In the preceding four winter seasons the rainfall in each has been as follows:—

In	1902–3	...	28·05 inches in	54 days.
„	1903–4	...	15·64 „	44 „
„	1904–5	...	23·50 „	63 „
„	1905–6	...	24·62 „	58 „

Thus the average for the last five seasons amounts to 22·80 inches.

Out of the forty-two chapters of *A Pilgrimage to Palestine*, by Mr. Charles G. Trumbull, nineteen chapters are devoted to Palestine. The story of the pilgrimage from New York to The World's Fourth Sunday School Convention, 1904, is told with a minuteness which would be irksome but for the way in which it is told. The volume is beautifully illustrated by well chosen photos, and the author's "first impressions" afford delightful and profitable reading. A chapter, written by the Rev. Everette Gill, and illustrated by a plan of the site from the *Quarterly Statement*, tells of a visit to the excavations at Gezer. Mr. Macalister delivered a lecture to the party on the site of the actual monuments.

Our Local Secretary at Liverpool, Mr. A. B. Thorburn, writes :—

"Seeing among the books presented to the Fund, *La Terre-Sainte, autrefois, par aujourd'hui*, I wrote to the author, the Abbé Curtet, Groissiat, par Martignat, France (Ain), and received his work, which I have read with much interest. He has collected a variety of extracts from the letters and works of French missionaries long resident in Palestine, and French ecclesiastics who have written about the country and people. His object has been to bring together facts as to the life of the modern inhabitants of the country, in order to show how little has changed in 2,000 and even 4,000 years, and how readily one can call up the scenes depicted in the New Testament and in the Old. In this he has been very successful, and he has obtained letters of commendation from his Holiness and from the Patriarch of Jerusalem, as having put it into the power of teachers and preachers to explain the Scriptures in a more vivid and interesting manner.

"To us the interest lies in these extracts from French authors, such as the Abbés Galeran, Vigouroux, and Fillion, as we are not so familiar with the works of French as with those of English and German writers."

"Golgotha and the Holy Sepulchre," the last work of the late Major-General Sir Charles Wilson, K.C.B., K.C.M.G., F.R.S., D.C.L., LL.D., etc., is now ready. In this work the late Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund has brought together for the first time all the evidence which the most exhaustive research enabled him to collect bearing on the subject of these Holy

Sites; and probably no man living had at once so intimate a knowledge of all investigations in the modern Jerusalem and so complete an acquaintance with what has been written about the Sites from the time of Constantine onwards. The price of the work (demy 8vo) is 6*s.*, by post 6*s.* 4*d.*, and cheques should be made payable to the order of George Armstrong, Acting Secretary to the Fund, and crossed "Coutts & Co."

The first edition of Mr. Macalister's work, "Bible Sidelights from the Mounds of Gezer," is already sold out, and a second edition is now on sale. It has been written to show how the results of digging in Palestine should appeal not only to the scientific anthropologist or archæologist, but also to the Bible student who has no special interest in these sciences. The book contains a brief synopsis of the work of the Fund from its foundation to the present and a description of the site of Gezer, and its history. Price 5*s.* 4*d.*, post free.

The *Painted Tombs of Marissa*, recently published by the Fund, is now recognized as a very important contribution to the history and archæology of Palestine in the last centuries before our era. It may be mentioned that the leaflet containing the result of the investigations by Mr. Macalister at the Tombs has been published, and can be had on application to the Acting Secretary by those who possess the volume.

It may be well to mention that plans and photographs alluded to in the reports from Jerusalem and elsewhere cannot all be published, but they are preserved in the office of the Fund, where they may be seen by subscribers. Those which are sent by Mr. Macalister, illustrating the excavations at Gezer and which are not reproduced in his quarterly reports, have been held over for the final memoir.

The attention of subscribers and others is called to *A Table of the Christian and Mohammedan Eras*, from July 15th, A.D. 622, the date of the Hejira, to A.D. 1900; price by post, 7*d.* Also to the *Meteorological Observations at Jerusalem*, with tables and diagrams by the late Mr. James Glaisher, F.R.S. Tourists and all desirous of accurate information about the climate of Jerusalem should not fail to send for a copy, price 2*s.* 6*d.*

The attention of subscribers is also called to a work by Sir Charles Warren, entitled "The Ancient Cubit and our Weights and Measures." He brings evidence to show that all weights and measures (except those of the metrical system) are derived from one source—the double-cubit cubed of Babylonia.

The Museum and Library of the Palestine Exploration Fund at Jerusalem are in the Bishop's Buildings, near the Tombs of the Kings, where the use of a room has been kindly permitted by the Rev. Dr. Blyth, Bishop in Jerusalem and the East. The Museum is open daily, except Sundays, and the Honorary Secretary, Dr. D'Erf Wheeler, will give all information necessary.

The "Flora of Syria, Palestine, and Sinai," by the Rev. George E. Post, M.D., Beirût, Syria, containing descriptions of all the Phaenogams and Acrogens of the region, and illustrated by 441 woodcuts, may be had at the office of the Fund, price 21*s.*

The income of the Society from June 24th to September 20th, 1907, was—from Annual Subscriptions and Donations, including Local Societies, £195 1*s.* 5*d.*; from sales of publications, &c., £129 14*s.* 0*d.*; making in all, £324 15*s.* 5*d.* The expenditure during the same period was £474 12*s.* 10*d.* On September 20th the balance in the bank was £82 15*s.* 6*d.*

Subscribers who have not yet paid will greatly facilitate the Committee's efforts by sending their subscriptions in early, and thus save the expense of sending out reminders, as the outgoings on the excavations at Gezer will be a heavy drain on the funds. The special donations during the quarter have been received from :—

Walter Morrison, Esq., Hon. Treas. ...	£10	0	0
Mrs. Ellen Rothwell	£50	0	0

Subscribers to the Fund are reminded that, whilst the receipt of every subscription and contribution is promptly acknowledged by the Acting Secretary, they are now published annually, and not quarterly. A complete List of Subscribers and Subscriptions for 1906 was published with the April number.

Subscribers in U.S.A. to the work of the Fund will please note that they can procure copies of any of the publications from the Rev. Professor Theo. F. Wright, Honorary General Secretary to the Fund, 42, Quincy Street, Cambridge, Mass.

The Committee will be glad to communicate with ladies and gentlemen willing to help the Fund as Honorary Secretaries.

Subscribers and others may be reminded that the new Raised Map of Palestine, constructed from the Surveys of the Palestine Exploration Fund by the Acting Secretary, is ready. It is on the scale of $6\frac{1}{4}$ miles to the inch and measures $3' 6'' \times 2' 6''$. It has already been used with great success by Professors of Old Testament history, and by teachers in Sunday Schools, and may be especially recommended for large classes of students. On view at the office of the Fund; further particulars may be had on application.

In order to make up complete sets of the *Quarterly Statement*, the Committee will be very glad to receive any back numbers which subscribers do not wish to preserve.

A complete set of the *Quarterly Statements*, 1869–1905, containing the early letters, with an Index, 1869–1892, bound in the Palestine Exploration Fund cases, can be had. Price on application to the Acting Secretary, 38, Conduit Street, W.

Subscribers of one guinea and upwards will please note that they can still obtain a set, consisting of the "Survey of Eastern Palestine" (Colonel Conder); "Archæological Researches in Palestine," in two volumes (Clermont-Ganneau); "Flora and Fauna of Sinai, Petra, and the Wady 'Arabah" (Hart), for £7 7*s*., but the price has been increased to the public to £9 9*s*. The price of single volumes to the public has also been increased. Applications should be made to the Acting Secretary.

The price of a complete set of the translations published by the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, in 13 volumes, with general index, bound in cloth, is £10 10*s*. A catalogue describing the contents of each volume can be had on application to the Secretary, 38, Conduit Street, W.

The Museum at the office of the Fund, 38, Conduit Street (a few doors from Bond Street), is open to visitors every week-day from 10 o'clock till 5, except Saturdays, when it is closed at 2 p.m.

Photographs of the late Dr. Schick's models (1) of the Temple of Solomon, (2) of the Herodian Temple, (3) of the Haram Area and Justinian's Church, and (4) of the Haram Area as it is at present, have been received at the office of the Fund. The four photographs, with an explanation by Dr. Schick, can be purchased by applying to the Acting Secretary, 38, Conduit Street, W.

Branch Associations of the Bible Society, all Sunday Schools within the Sunday School Institute, the Sunday School Union, and the Wesleyan Sunday School Institute, will please observe that by a special Resolution of the Committee they will henceforth be treated as subscribers and be allowed to purchase the books and maps (by application only to the Secretary) at reduced prices.

The Committee acknowledge with thanks the following :—

"Architecture, East and West." From the Author, R. Phene Spiers, Esq.

"The Annual of the British School at Athens." No. XII. Session 1905–6.

"Échos d'Orient," July, 1907.

"Jérusalem, Publication Mensuelle Illustrée," July, 1907. ("Pratiques et superstitions Juives," by S. Peitavi.)

ΝΕΑ ΣΙΩΝ, 1907.

"Al-Mashrik : Revue Catholique Orientale Bimensuelle." "Les Merveilles du pays de Moab"; "Ibn Jubair et la Syrie au XII^{e} Siècle," by P. H. Lammens.

"Recueil d'Archéologie Orientale," by Prof. Clermont-Ganneau. Tome VIII, Livr. 2–5 : § 3. Topographie de la Jérusalem antique. § 4. Traditions arabes au pays de Moab. § 5. Légendes sur l'alouette. § 6. Le sépulcre de Abedrapsas. § 8. L'antique nécropole juive d'Alexandrie. § 9. Forgerons, poètes et musiciens. § 10. *Fiches et notules.*

"L'Architecture des Abbasides au IX^{e} Siècle." From the *Revue Archéologique.* By Général de Beylié.

"Gordon's Tomb and Golgotha." From the Author, A. W. Crawley-Boevey, Esq.

"The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela ; Critical Text, Translation, and Commentary." From the Author, Marcus Nathan Adler, M.A.

See also "Notices of Books and Foreign Publications," below pp. 307 *sqq.*

The Committee will be glad to receive donations of Books to the Library of the Fund, which already contains many works of great value relating to Palestine and other Bible lands. A catalogue of Books in the Library will be found in the July *Quarterly Statement*, 1893.

For list of authorised lecturers and their subjects, *see* end of the Journal, or write to the Secretary.

Whilst desiring to give publicity to proposed identifications and other theories advanced by officers of the Fund and contributors to the pages of the *Quarterly Statement*, the Committee wish it to be distinctly understood that by publishing them in the *Quarterly Statement* they do not necessarily sanction or adopt them.

Form of Bequest to the Palestine Exploration Fund.

I give to the Palestine Exploration Fund, London, the sum of _____ to be applied towards the General Work of the Fund; and I direct that the said sum be paid, free of Legacy Duty, and that the Receipt of the Treasurer of the Palestine Exploration Fund shall be a sufficient discharge to my Executors.

*Signature*_____

Witnesses _____

_____

_____

NOTE.—*Three Witnesses are necessary in the United States of America. Two suffice in Great Britain.*

FIFTEENTH QUARTERLY REPORT ON THE EXCAVATION OF GEZER.

Second of the Second Series.

10 *May*—10 *August*, 1907.

By R. A. Stewart Macalister, M.A., F.S.A.

Preliminary.

Shortly after the completion of the previous report the harvest of the winter crops began. Under the first permit I had kept the work going through the harvest, but the results had not justified the trouble of finding able-bodied labourers, as only the very young or the aged were available. Accordingly, during the six weeks of the harvest I suspended the work on the mound itself, and kept a small selection of the labourers, whom I succeeded in persuading to remain, at work on the slopes of the hill and the surrounding valleys, searching for and examining tombs. When the harvest was over the work on the hill-top was resumed.

The result of the examination of tombs was on the whole disappointing, as few details of special interest were added to the facts already established in the previous excavation of the Gezerite cemeteries (see the ninth report, in the *Quarterly Statement* for October, 1904). Several wine-presses, and evidence for the existence of a church and Byzantine houses with mosaic pavements, were found in the course of this examination of the surrounding country; but the chief discovery made in the valley was that of the foundation of a fine Roman bath. On the hill itself the most interesting discovery has been that of a series of *maṣṣēbôth*, evidently in connexion with the temple-like structure described in the last report of the previous permit; and the usual small objects.

I.—Tombs.

No tomb of the Pre-Semitic, and but one of the First Semitic Period was found; but several cave-sepulchres of the Second Semitic Period (contemporaneous with Egyptian history from the XIIth to the XVIIIth dynasty) were brought to light. These consisted (like those already described) of rude chambers, more or

Fig. 1.—Pottery from Tombs, Second Semitic Period.

less circular, and contained bones, pottery, and a limited number of ornamental objects, scattered about, without any special order, through the earth filling the cave. In some of these caves the deposit was meagre, but others contained a considerable quantity of pottery vessels. In two caves a receptacle had been made for the

reception of bones from previous interments, and into these not only the bones but the pottery had been thrown.

Specimens of the typical pottery of this series of tombs will be seen in Fig. 1. The most remarkable vessel is the lentoid bottle with lip projecting into a vertical cup (Fig. 1, upper row). So far as I know, this type of vessel—fairly frequent in the series of tombs under consideration—has, as yet, been found nowhere else in Palestine. The lamps which were found show a considerable variety of shape, though the spouts have all more or less *parallel* sides. This I was previously inclined to put to a later date: it is, however, in any case later than the type of lamp with a slight *triangular* spout, which belongs to an earlier stage of the same period.

The tombs of this period were all grouped on the eastern slope of the hill, where a cluster of them had already been found in the previous examination of the cemeteries. One tomb of the series, however, was discovered in a rocky field between the mound and the village of el-Kubâb, and almost a mile from the former place. This is the farthest ancient tomb discovered in the neighbourhood. It is a rudely cut cave, with a platform of stones laid within it, on which was a considerable quantity of pottery (including a large number of the crooked-necked jugs formerly called "Phoenician"), and a collection of XVIIIth dynasty scarabs, one of them a handsome scaraboid bearing various devices and the cartouche of Thothmes III. There was also a fragment of a seal cylinder. The few bones that were worth preserving from this tomb presented Egyptian rather than Semitic characteristics, and it is not improbably the sepulchre of an Egyptian settler in the town.

Nor was anything specially remarkable found in the tombs of the Hellenizing period; the most interesting deposit in any of them was a *dea nutrix* figure, which probably belonged to the Syrian occupation ended by Simon Maccabaeus. Several early Christian tombs came to light, both in the mound of Gezer itself and in the surrounding hills. A good many of these had been previously rifled in the perfunctory way carried out before the fellahin unhappily learnt that *all* antiquities were of value. A number of lamps, some of them very fine specimens, were found; it is unnecessary for the present to illustrate these, as a selection of typical examples has already been published in a previous report (see *Quarterly Statement*, October, 1904, Plate III). In several tombs of

this period little pendant crosses, of bronze and silver, were found. They are all of the pattern shown in Fig. 2:

Fig. 2.—Cross from Byzantine Tomb.

On the centre is a small hollow, which in one example contained a piece of glass. One tomb contained several of these crosses, and a die, with the points distributed exactly as in modern dice.[1] A strange combination!

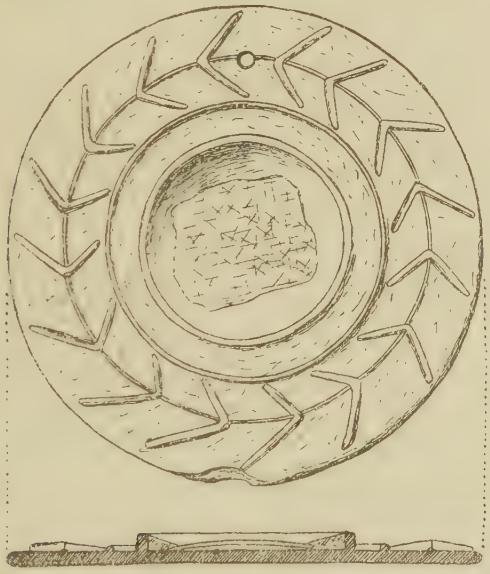


Fig. 3.—Pottery Object—perhaps a Reliquary—from a Byzantine Tomb.

The most curious object from any of the Christian tombs is illustrated in Fig. 3. It is a circular disc of pottery, the ware identical with that of the common type of Byzantine lamps,

[1] It may be worth a passing notice that gamesters in Palestine use the *Persian* numerals in reckoning the points of dice. This is an indication of the source from which dice have been imported

measuring $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches in diameter. Around the margin is a band of chevrons in relief, united by a faint line,[1] and there is at one point a hole for suspension. A raised collar surrounds the middle portion, which is closed with a disc of glass, held in place by a lime composition worked round the edges exactly like modern glazier's putty. I have not, elsewhere, seen such an object as this, and can only guess that it may be a reliquary. The glass is too opaque to see through, and without raising it from its position—which I am unwilling to do—it is impossible to say whether anything is covered by it or not.

None of the other tomb deposits found during the six weeks of work in this important branch of the excavation call for special notice in the present report.

To the east of the mound of Gezer, and south of 'Ain Yerdeh, is a knoll of rock known as *el-Kus'a*, on which some excavations for tombs were made. Besides tombs—one of which contained the "reliquary" and cross above illustrated—a fine wine-press was noticed. There was also evidence that a church once existed here. The Kubâb people told me that they had long since removed many fine cut stones from this place, and completely destroyed a mosaic that had here existed. The one relic of the building left behind was a large stone cross, which, by some strange oversight, they had allowed to remain on the surface of the ground, marking the spot where the building once stood to which it had belonged. The height of this cross is 2 feet 3 inches, and its thickness 6 inches.

II.—Roman Bath.

My attention was drawn to a spot on the south side of the road from Abû Shûsheh to 'Ain Yerdeh,[2] about midway between the latter point and 'Ain et-Tannûr, by seeing some of the natives of el-Kubâb excavating there for building stones. With the help of the Imperial Commissioner this vandalistic work was stopped, and I myself directed excavations to be made in order to determine what manner of building had formerly existed here. That it was of some importance was suggested by traces of mosaic, revealed by

[1] A conventional olive wreath?

[2] See the map accompanying the ninth report, October, 1904, Plate I. The position is about the word "*Yerdeh*" in the inscription "*To 'Ain Yerdeh and El-Kubâb*," but on the other side of the road.

FIG. 4.—View of the Roman Bath (facing S.W.).

the illicit excavations referred to. After a week's work the building lay revealed as a fine Roman bath establishment. It had been much injured by the quarrying operations, both recent and previous, but enough remained to show the arrangement of the greater part of the plan. This has been drawn; unfortunately, owing to its size, it is impossible to reproduce it on the small page of the *Quarterly Statement*. The photograph sent herewith (Fig. 4) will, however, give an idea of the disposition of the building. I have indicated by writing on the photograph the mound of Gezer, and the hollow in which the modern village of Abû Shûsheh is hidden: the footpath running through the photograph is the road from Abû Shûsheh to 'Ain Yerdeh. Along this road, in the distance, the now dry 'Ain et-Tannûr is marked. In the foreground is the excavation of the bath, to the various features of which reference numbers have been added.

The total dimensions of the building are 68 feet 6 inches by 59 feet. The *atrium* (I), or hall, occupies about a quarter of the whole building. This was a fine apartment, well built of squared stones, and floored with mosaic. The following diagram will, for the present, sufficiently indicate the pattern of the design:—

—lozenge-shaped dots occupying each of the squares and intervals. The colours are black and red on a white ground. This pavement was so fragmentary, that a considerable amount of measurement and comparison was necessary before it was possible to be sure of the design. Some fragments of marble slabs lying about (without any ornament upon them) indicated that the walls had been lined with this material.

A doorway (*a*), of which one jamb remains, leads into a chamber (II) 9 feet by 6 feet 9 inches, paved with tesserae of white mosaic. An apse in its south-eastern side (*b*) adds 4 feet to its length. This

apse was also paved with white mosaic, but a ridge (probably a step, or the basis of a bench) separates it from the rest of the mosaic floor. In all probability this chamber was the *apodyterium*, in which the bathers undressed.

From this chamber another doorway (*c*) gave access to an apartment (III) 11 feet by 9 feet 5½ inches, likewise paved with white mosaic. A small orifice will be noticed in the threshold of the door, no doubt to allow water to pass through from one chamber to another. The proximity of this chamber to the *hypocaust*, and analogy with the plans of bath establishments elsewhere, indicates that this apartment was the *tepidarium*. There was no bath in this chamber.

The *caldarium* had completely disappeared: the tile piers and arches of the *hypocaust*, however, remained in fairly good order. It occupies the space between rooms II, III, and the road. The furnace was to the right-hand side of the table which stands in the photograph—a little more towards the foreground—a large semicircular structure, much ruined, yet still retaining a certain quantity of ashes to show its original purpose. From this furnace a built pipe directed the hot air into the *hypocaust*.

Underneath the earth marked IV, in Fig. 4 (still unexcavated when the photograph was taken), is an area 24 feet 9 inches by 15 feet, subdivided by smaller walls into a number of compartments, which were probably *latrinae*. Beneath the level of these cross walls were the remains of a drain which apparently ran from the *caldarium* to a large *cloaca*, presently to be noticed.

The *frigidarium* (V) occupied the south-west corner of the building. Unfortunately this part of the bath was a good deal ruined, but enough remained to make its main outlines traceable. The northern end was occupied by a *piscina*, or basin, paved with white mosaic, and lined with cement. Its maximum dimensions were 7 feet 3 inches by 8 feet. A hole in the side opened into a drain that ran through a platform of solid masonry occupying the whole of the southern end of the chamber, and, passing through an opening in the wall, entered a finely built *cloaca*. This drain was built of well squared blocks of stone: when complete it was roofed with cover slabs. It ran outside the bath, following (so far as the excavation permitted its course to be traced) a serpentine line directed southward, perhaps towards the "winter water-course" that will be seen in the map already referred to.

No trace of any architectural ornament was found among the ruins.

Not many objects were found in the bath. There were a number of roofing tiles, and tubes of pottery which were probably inserted in the holes for light and air made in the roof of the building. There was a considerable number of fragments of glass vessels, but only one in any way perfect. These were, no doubt, receptacles for ointments and cosmetics used by the bathers. In the drain was found a hoard of much corroded small Roman copper coins, which will require chemical treatment before any attempt can be made to identify them.

Fig. 5.—The Zodiac Tablet.

It will be seen that these discoveries considerably widen the field that it would be necessary to work over in order to set forth a complete statement of the life and civilization of Ancient Gezer at all periods of its history. As there seems little prospect of the resources of the Society being equal to the execution of so gigantic a task, I must be content with these fragments of Roman and Byzantine Gezer, confining my attention for the rest of the time available to the more important earlier periods of the city's history.

III.—A Zodiac Tablet.

No tablets have been found during this year, but the object illustrated in Fig. 5 bids us not despair yet of some such discovery.

It was found in debris contemporary with the Tell el-Amarna period. It is a half cylinder of unbaked clay, $3\frac{1}{8}$ inches long, $1\frac{3}{4}$ inches broad, and $1\frac{1}{4}$ inches thick.[1] It has two bands of figures in relief upon it that have evidently been impressed by rolling a seal cylinder, with a design much more elaborate than usual: the complete design appears twice in each band. It displays the sun and moon, with a series of figures which are recognizable as a zodiac, though the signs are not in proper order. Some of the zodiacal signs I cannot identify with certainty, not having at hand any representation of an ancient zodiac for comparison; but the significance of others is fairly clear. Commencing at the left-hand end of the upper line (after the ladder-like object here partially impressed) is a horned animal, which there can be little doubt is *Aries*. The clumsy ribbed figure above is either *Leo* or *Taurus;* but I am not certain what significance to attach to the smaller quadruped between, or to the bird which follows. Next comes an animal with ibex-like horns, which can hardly be anything but *Capricornus*, and above it a distorted creature, evidently the artist's conception of *Cancer*. The ⊤-like objects above and below the ibex, and the small star above and to the right of *Cancer* I take to be marks filling up blank spaces—though it may be that the inverted ⊤-mark under the ibex is meant for *Libra*. The wedge underneath the bird may also be a mere block, but it possibly is intended to indicate an egg. The crab is followed by a vertical serpent; if the guess just made as to the identification of *Libra* be not correct, it may be that this indicates *Serpens*, substituted for *Libra* (to which constellation it is adjacent in the heavens). Under the sun are *Pisces* and *Scorpio*, both unmistakable: above Scorpio is an object that looks like a palm-tree, but which I take to be an ear of corn, typifying *Spica*, the principal and only conspicuous star in *Virgo*.[2] Next to this is an inverted amphora, no doubt meant for *Aquarius* (also called *Amphora:* compare the modern Arabic name "the bucket"). Last comes a peculiar object on the top of a ladder, which I can but guess has something to do with *Sagittarius*.

That the identification of this interesting object with a zodiac has been proved will, I think, be admitted, but I must leave to those more versed than I in ancient astronomical symbolism the

[1] The drawing is to an enlarged scale for the sake of clearness.

[2] The modern Arabic name of this constellation is "the ear of corn."

task of completing the identifications, and the assigning of the Gezer zodiac to its proper place in astronomical history.

The order of the signs seems quite arbitrary, and probably depends entirely on the space the artist left for himself.

IV.—A Hebrew Jar-handle Stamp.

In the previous report I stated that I proposed continuing the excavation to the east of the place where the supposed Philistine graves had been uncovered, in the hopes of bringing to light further tombs of this interesting cemetery. None, however, were discovered; if there be any other graves of this series in Gezer they must be elsewhere on the mound.

The pit east of the Philistine graves was curious in some respects. No remains of houses appeared till, just on the rock, was found a stratum referable to about 2000 B.C. Above this was some sixteen feet of earth, which represented a rubbish heap of late date. Large numbers of Rhodian jar-handles were found, and with the exception of a very few objects—none of them of sufficient importance to call for special notice at present—all the associated fragments were of the contemporary Hellenizing period.

The Rhodian jar-handle stamps will find their place in the already lengthy catalogue of such inscriptions being prepared for

Fig. 6.—Potter's Stamp.

the final *Memoir*: at present we need only refer to the far more interesting stamp illustrated in Fig. 6. This bears four Old Hebrew letters, which read—

הי
רט

Palaeographically this short inscription is of great importance, as it gives us a form, I believe unique, of the rare letter ט. This

character does not happen to occur in any of the early Palestinian authorities for the Old Hebrew alphabets, such as the Siloam inscription, and the jar-handles of the Judaean potters. In the "Baal Lebanon" inscription, however, the character is found with two cross-bars (which is also the earliest form of the Greek *θ*, derived from it), and the second cross-bar persists, in an attentuated form, down to the time of Eshmunazar of Sidon, in whose epitaph the letter is found, with double cross-bar and an open top. The *single* cross-bar, so far as I know, is not found in Phoenician inscriptions till we reach the degenerated alphabet of the early Mauretanian coins of Spain, where the letter appears in the form 𐌈. It is unfortunate that the letter is not found on the Maccabean and other Jewish coins, so that we have nothing for comparison, and are unable to determine whether the Greek-like form of the character on this inscription is due to the influence of the later-developed form of the letter *θ*, affecting the shape of the letter from which it took its rise. The monumental appearance of the other characters, all of which are of the normal Old Hebrew shape, is against the hypothesis of such an influence.[1]

The interpretation of the inscription is not easy. No doubt it is the name of the potter: but whether the letters are to be read continuously, and if so in what order, and whether we have one complete, or two contracted names, are questions which it is difficult to decide. At first sight it looks like one name, הירט, of which, however, I can find no trace elsewhere. Then the collocation of letters in the upper row suggests a boustrophedon reading רטיה which would give the common theophorus affix, though the explanation of the whole name would remain a mystery. Perhaps a more probable interpretation is that each line is to be taken by itself: that the interpretation is "H. son of R."—הי being an abbreviation for some name such as הימן (1 Kings v, 11; Eng. Version, iv, 31), and רט the initial of a name perhaps derivative from the root רטב, "to be damp, fresh, green."[2]

[1] See below, p. 319].

[2] The possibility has occurred to me that the ט might really be a degenerated form of the old Hebrew *khêth*. But, in the first place, I cannot find a trace of evidence that the corners of the ח ever became rounded, even in the most degraded of Semitic alphabets: and in the second, the substitute of ח for does not make the inscription any more easy to deal with.

V.—Scarabs and Seals.

The usual crop of scarabs and seals has been reaped: but all are of the types already fully illustrated in previous reports, and, with one exception, none of them call for special record at present.

Fig. 7.—Cylinder.

The exception is a very fine cylinder of steatite, illustrated in Fig. 7. It was found in debris of 1200–1000 B.C., and seems to represent the meeting of four persons for sacrifice. One of the four, clad in an embroidered robe, is represented carrying just such a scimitar as was found in one of the Gezer tombs of the same period (see *Q.S.*, October, 1904, p. 335). The execution of the seal is remarkably delicate.

An inscribed Weight.

In Fig. 8 will be seen a drawing of a weight found in connexion with objects of about 500 B.C. It is of marble, and is of the usual

Fig. 8.—Inscribed weight.

domed shape. The weight is 7·27 grammes, so that it represents one-third of the standard of which the בצף weights represent a

half: that is, one-third of the silver shekel. The word inscribed on it, פים, must therefore mean "one-third." The weight of a one-third shekel is referred to in Nehemiah x, 33 (*v.* 32, Eng. Version), but is mentioned by a circumlocution.[1]

VI.—A new High Place.

Toward the end of the first permit a building was discovered, a plan of which will be found in *Q.S.*, 1905, p. 197. There is

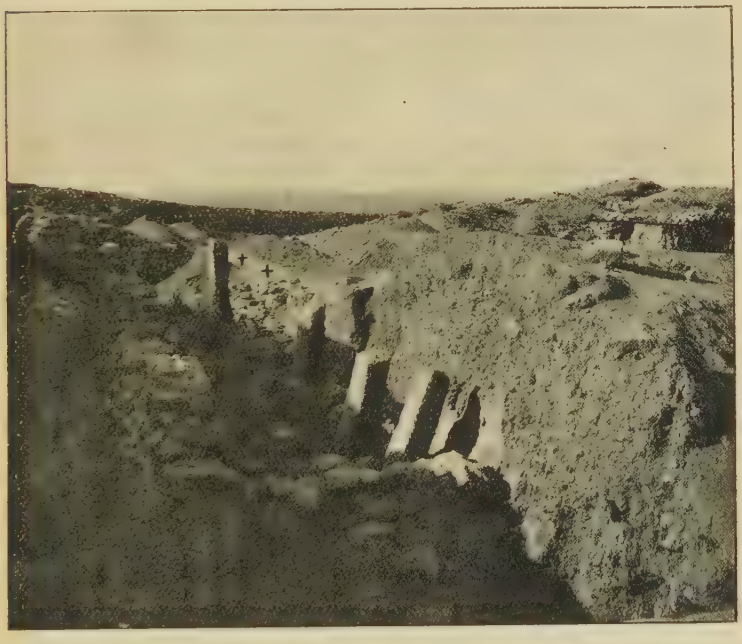


Fig. 9.—Alignment of Standing Stones (facing Northwards).

a photograph of it in "Bible Sidelights from the Mound of Gezer," and I there endeavoured to show how a restoration of this building offered the simplest explanation of the attendant circumstances of the death of Samson. This suggestion was received in some quarters with a certain amount of scepticism; but at least the explanation of the building as a temple has been confirmed by the

[See below, p. 320].

unexpected discovery of a row of *massêbôth* in close connexion with it. Excavating to the south of the site in question a long narrow courtyard was found, in which four stones and the stump of a fifth were standing. That there had once been more is indicated by a feature in the photograph (Fig. 9) where the stones and surrounding buildings are shown. The walls in the foreground evidently belong to a much later date; and it will be seen that some of them are built, not of the usual small field stones, but of fragments of long pillars resembling the monoliths that still survive. Another had been used in this later period as a lintel of the only door yet found complete on the mound. This accounts for the long gap between the first and second of the stones. The monoliths are roughly squared, and therefore (in accordance with a principle I have myself suggested) are *à priori* more likely to be mere pillars for constructional purposes; against this must however be set their irregularity of height, the weakness of their foundations—which are not adapted for carrying a heavy superstructure—and the unevenness of their tops, on which no superstructure would remain in equilibrium. The broken stump, which is unfortunately hidden in shadow, is in the middle, between the second and third. The position of the line of pillar bases, to which special reference was made in the previous description, is indicated by the marks + +.

The total length of the row of stones as at present standing is 44 feet 4 inches: the dimensions of the largest stone are 7 feet 6 inches by 1 foot 6 inches by 1 foot 5 inches. The alignment, like that of the great high-place, is north and south. No objects of cult were found in the precincts.

A curious foundation sacrifice was, however, found under a corner of a wall immediately west of the angle of the courtyard. Here was found a small pit, dug under the seat of the corner stone, lined with potsherds mingled with charcoal: some of the potsherds showed marks of fire. The pit was about 1 foot 9 inches in diameter. There were two or three mutton bones in it, and a fragment of the leg bone of a cow, the edges of which seem to have been trimmed with a knife: and on the potsherds was laid the head of a little girl, about $2\frac{1}{2}$ years of age.

THE IMMOVABLE EAST.

By Philip J. Baldensperger, Esq.

(*Continued from Q.S.*, 1907, *p.* 21.)

Having gathered the crushed straw on a heap, another instalment of straw is made ready for threshing, and the work continues till before sunset. Sunset is a very disagreeable hour, the genii are hovering about, and it is time to say the prayers; so there is a pause in the work. After supper, when the wind is favourable, *winnowing* begins, for it must not be too strong, else it will carry away the *tibn*, the man goes to the floor and watches the wind; often it is not before midnight that the most work is done. Boaz also, who had the threshing business performed in the day-time, went to winnow in the night (Ruth iii, 2). The *tibn* is gently carried away to some distant spot, the small straw or chaff called *ḳaṣwal*, Heb. *móṣ* (Hos. xiii, 3), falls between the wheat and the *tibn*. When the wheat is all clean, the heap is properly arranged and signed with the Mithra cross-ways. The heap is then called *ṣalîbe(t)*, "the crossed," and remains there till morning, the man lying down to sleep near the heap to be ready in case thieves may try to steal.

Precisely the same proceeding is found in the case of Boaz, who, after having winnowed the barley, made a heap, Heb. *'arâmâh* (*cp.* Arab. *'arma*[*t*]), and lies down to sleep till morning at the end of the heap.

When the sun is out, the family comes with their animals, and all their women, in order to take home the grain. In the name of God, the owner sits down with his legs stretched on the ground, for to put up the knees is genii-like, and this squatting (*taḳanbaz*) is avoided whenever any sacred or serious act is performed. The measure is now put into the heap, and "one God" is repeated till "one measure" is filled and put into the sack of goat's hair (*fardeh*[*t*]), then two, three, four, five, six, "blessing" (for seven) "faithfulness," *Yâ Rab el-amane*(*t*) (rhyming with eight, *thamanie*[*t*]), and so forth; whenever the man who is counting knows any good qualificative to

rhyme with the number, he repeats it. The wheat is carried home and put into the store dividing the foreroom from the ante-room.

The rough straw and the remaining grain are sifted in a sieve made of wire (*kerbâl*), which only carries away the coarser pieces. Stalks (*kash*) are put aside, and are used to make trays.

Without his agriculture—*felḥa*[*t*] is what they call the whole proceeding, from sowing to gathering the grain into the barn—the Fellah is not happy, and though he may have other occasional occupations, still agriculture as a kind of home-sickness will draw him to the beloved fields, and though he possess no lands, he will hire them, in some far-away Bedawy-country, and risk the venture. One of my farmers who had irrigated gardens which gave him plenty of work all the year round, explained to me "that there was no blessing" in bought wheat, and wanted to have a try at farming; accordingly he started, and when the year was terminated, I made the following account to him:—

MUSTAPHA ABU EḤSANE'S FELḤA-YEAR, 1881.

Dr.			Cr.		
1880.		P	1881.		P.
Nov.	Bought 2 cows at 16 Mej. (P. 864) Interest at 10% p.a.	86·20	July	10 tappies of barley at P. 10 ...	100·
	Sowed 6 Mid at 4 Mej, at P. 22¾	546·	Aug.	31½ ,, of wheat at 1 Mej.	717·20
	8 rotls rice for the helpers ...	52·	Sept.	31½ ,, of durra at ½ Mej.	358·30
	2 goats for the feast	187·	,,	1 Tappy of sesame	45·20
	Tibn for the cows in the season	200·		To balance accounts	391·30
	Food	60·			
	Carriage of wheat and straw back and forth from Urṭas to Beth-Natif	482·			
		P. 1,613·20			P. 1,613·20

Having showed him clearly that he lost not only P. 391·30 cash, but also all his time and minor expenses, which we undoubtedly overlooked, he came out with the very characteristic philosophical remark, that the wheat was now *his own*, from his *own* work, and therefore more blessed (*abrak*); at all events, the demonstration was not convincing, and he said, fortunately he had no pen, and could not make accounts, and was happier for it.

Where they have plenty of wheat, they put it in a pit (*maṭmura*[*t*]), which is covered with loam and earth, so that the place cannot be detected by anybody who does not know of its existence.

When the wheat is to be taken out, the pits are opened, are aired by throwing a bundle in and drawing it out again, till the noxious gases are gone. Often this goes on several hours, and then a person only enters if a lamp continues to burn. The "treasures" of Jerem., xli, 8, were such field-pits, with wheat, barley, oil and honey.

Watered gardens are called *jenân* or *basâtîn* in general, but the special names of the divisions of the land are the same as with the unirrigated land. As a rule the perennial spring flows down the mountain side, and the gardens are in terraces, *ḫabâ'il*, one above the other, or in the valley. The water belongs to the villagers, and everyone who possesses land on a level with the water has a right to water it. To avoid disputes, the water is divided between the families, and these again in their turn divide it between themselves. In some places it is divided into degrees; thus, the water flows into a pool, and a marked pole shows when a degree has flowed out; according to the quantity of land possessed, the owner receives his share (*ḫarârit*). When the necessary quantity of water has flown, the guardian stops the pool, and instructs the next in turn to take charge of the water. In Urṭas it is divided by hours, going the round of the village in seven days. Every family holding it twenty-four hours and sub-dividing it between them from morning to noon, noon to sunset, sunset to midnight, and midnight to morning. As they have no watches and no other sign but the sun and the stars, there are sometimes great quarrels and fights, especially in rainless seasons, when the water decreases. Canals (قني) are made for those gardens which are far away, and a pool (*birke*[*t*]) is built to hold the water when the flow is too slow. The Urṭas gardens, the gardens of Solomon (Cant. v, 1), the "pools" made to water the gardens (Eccl. ii, 6) and "canals" (Ps. i, 3), were known probably in later days. For the Israelites hoped to be rid of those naturally watered gardens of vegetables (Deut. xi, 10), where, on account of the soft soil, they could water and stop the water-passages by pushing the earth with the foot. Though the fellahîn are very dexterous with their feet, yet they have various gardening implements to work the gardens. A hoe (*fâs*) is used to till the ground where the plough can not be brought, or to break the clods. The *majrafe*(*t*) is a kind of shovel to level the earth and to turn the water in the canals, and the *ḳad*(*d*)*ûm*, a small hoe to till the ground

round the young plants. A very tiny hoe is the *faḥâra(t)*, for very tender plants; it is hardly an inch broad, and has a handle not quite a foot long.

The water-melon plantations, where the plants are often several feet apart, and grow very slowly, have to be ploughed again between the plants; this ploughing is done with a mule, to avoid damaging the tender plants.

Those villages which have the good fortune to possess large springs of water—as Siloam, Wallaje, Lifta, Battîr, Urṭas, Silwad, etc., carefully raise such vegetables as are saleable at the Jerusalem market, and they manure, weed and plant two crops a year. Two villages, Jôrah and Ḥamam, near Gaza, may claim to be the best horticultural spots in Palestine. They raise the earliest vegetables (as tomatoes, haricot beans, etc.) when there are none to be had elsewhere, and these often arrive as early as February. Of the villages in the Jerusalem district, Siloam is best known for its beautiful cauliflowers (*ḳarnabît*), beet (*silḳ*), and parsley (*baḳdûnes*). Battîr is famous for its garden-eggs (الباذنجان), Urṭas for its tomatoes (*bandûra*); this last is evidently an imported fruit, the name being a corruption of *pommes d'or*. Urṭas is almost alone among the watered villages in growing fruit trees, and its pears (*injâs*), though of a very poor quality, are renowned. So also are the very fine peaches (*dureḳ*). The imported American fruit has done splendidly. The watered gardens of Ṭanur, below Beth-'Etab, are the only ones in the mountainous region which produce fine citrons.

The once renowned gardens of En-gedi are now in the hands of the Ta'amry, who produce early cucumbers (*kheyâr*), which are not the same as the hairy serpentine cucumbers (*faḳûs*) which the same produce in unwatered lands.

Fattîr, near Bethnej-Jamal is known for its onions, so also the two 'Allars, near Beth-'Etab. The gardens of Jaffa produce almost exclusively oranges, of world renown.

Near Yebna and Shaḥmy also are horticultural districts. Vegetable raising Jews have settled in Wady Iḥnène since 1881, and have fought the fever with little success, having followed Russian-Germans who left the country after burying at least ten out of twelve members of their family. The marshes towards Rubîn are probably the chief cause of the unhealthiness of the district. Among other products, the Wady furnishes Jaffa and Ramleh with sugar-cane.

Among the plants which are cultivated in the unwatered lands are:

Water-melon	*baṭîkh*	Heb. *ăbaṭṭîhîm*, Num. xi, 5.
Vegetable-marrow	*kusah*	Heb. *ḳiššû'îm*, ,,
Radish	*fijjel*	
Turnip	*lift*	
Squash	*ḳara'*	
Onion	*baṣal*	Heb. *beṣâlîm*, ,,
Garlic	*thôme*	Heb. *shûmîm*, ,,

the three last are also planted in watered gardens.

The serpentine cucumber (*faḳûs*) may be referred to in 2 Kings iv, 39, although in that verse some wild cucumber is meant, *e.g.* the *elaterium*. But the writer adds the qualification "of the field," and so means the field or wild cucumber, as distinguished from the edible one.

Haricot-beans (*lûbie*[*t*]), peas (*bizaile*[*t*]), and potatoes (*baṭâtâh*) are imported vegetables, and not yet universally known.

Cabbages (*maʿfûf*) have been raised mostly in Jaffa and a few in Urṭas, so also has beet-root (*banjar*).

Wild plants are also very often gathered, especially in places where vegetables are scarce—many are eaten raw, others are boiled in water and oil or *samn*.

Wild Artichoke	*khurfaish*.
Common Nettle	*ḳorase* (قريس).
Wild Mustard	*lufêteh*.
Common Mallow	*khubaize*(*t*).
Sorrel	*ḥumaiḍah*, *ḥamaṣeṣ*.
Horehound (the stalks)	*khâmshe*(*t*)
Chard	*ʿaḳûb*.
Purslane	*baḳle*(*t*), *r'jaile*(*t*).
Wild "Roquette"	*fujaile*(*t*).
Majoram	*zaʿṭar* (the leaves are dried, pounded, and eaten with bread and salt).
Fennel	*shûmar* (eaten in its green state).

The most common trees that are planted and are more or less grown everywhere, are:

Olive-tree	*zeitûn*	Heb. *zayith*.
Fig-tree	*tîne*(*t*)	Heb. *t'ênah*.

Quince-tree	*ṣafarjal.*	
Almond-tree	*lûze(t)*	Heb. *shâḳêd.*
Apricot-tree	*mishmish.*	
Pear-tree	*injâs.*	
Peach-tree	*dûrak* (دراق).	
Plum-tree	*khôkh, s'weda(t).*	
Zyzyphus	*'enâb.*	
Mulberry-tree	*tût.*	
Hawthorn	*za'rûr.*	
Pomegranate	*rumân*	Heb. *rimmôn.*
Nut-tree	*jûz*	Heb. *ĕgôz.*
Apple-tree	*tufâḥ*	Heb. *tappuaḥ.*

(*To be continued.*)

SOME SPECIMENS OF FELLAḤ WIT AND HUMOUR.

Translated by R. A. S. Macalister, M.A., F.S.A.

Introductory Note.

During the interval between the two permits for Gezer the Committee of the *P.E.F.*, at my suggestion, commissioned Yusif Khattar Kina'an, the capable foreman of the works, to travel through Palestine in search of folklore in its various branches. It was felt that there were many points which an intelligent native could extract from the people far more completely than the most expert European. For his guidance I prepared an Arabic translation of the "Questions" issued by the *P.E.F.*, and gave him some other hints. The results of his pilgrimage, which are contained in four notebooks, far exceeded my own expectations. Till now other duties have prevented my giving proper attention to them; but I hope to be able to contribute translations of these notes regularly to the *Quarterly Statement*, beginning with the present number. When they are finished it will, I think, be found that a more complete statement of fellaḥ life and thought will be available than

ever before. The present short instalment is all I have as yet been able to prepare for publication: longer and much more important matters will follow later.

I. Once on a time there was a fellaḥ skilled in the Arabic [literary] language; and he was filled with pride and conceit above his kind where he lived—he being a man of learning, and most of the fellaḥin knowing neither reading nor writing. He had a camel; and one day he was travelling from one village to another with a load of corn on the camel. His son, who was with him, was leading the animal. The way led across a certain muddy valley, and when they reached it the boy began to guide the animal carefully, calling out from time to time in the colloquial dialect: "Look out for your steps—your fore foot—your hind foot"—and so on, till they had crossed the valley. When they had crossed, the father noticed that the words his son had said to the camel were contrary to correct diction: so he said: "Return the camel!" The boy was much annoyed, as the mud made the road difficult; but being afraid of his father's anger, he led the camel back. Then the father, once more guiding the animal through the mud, began to say, in the literary language: "Soft! advance thy forward foot—thy hinder foot"—and as he was speaking the camel slipped, and was so injured that it was no longer fit for work; so they had to slaughter it and sell its flesh. The boy, in his grief after the camel, said to his father: "Did the camel understand literary Arabic, and not the colloquial? Has it not been destroyed?" Said the father: "Let the camel be destroyed, but not one letter of the Language!"

After that the boy watched for an opportunity of being even with his father. That day his father was lighting a cigarette with a flint, steel, and a piece of tinder. Having lit the cigarette he wished to keep the tinder to use again, so he wrapped it in his turban, not noticing that it was still alight. The boy saw what had happened, and seized the occasion, saying, in the literary language: "Soft, O Father! It hath come to pass that fire hath caused thy turban to perish!" The father raised his hand and put the fire out: but the boy had lengthened out his words to such an extent that the fire had already scorched the turban, as well as the hair of his head and his beard. So the father was angry, and said in the colloquial: "While you've been choosing and saying

your words, the fire has ruined it." The boy answered: "Is a handkerchief worth more than a camel? The camel was destroyed and you showed no regret: but because of a handkerchief you make mistakes in your speech." The father was ashamed of himself: and to this day the fellaḥin ridicule their sheikhs who affect the literary language in speech.

II. A man went from his village to the town to buy some necessaries for his household. His wife requested him to get for her a piece of cloth to make a dress for herself. So he went and obtained what was necessary, including the cloth; but while returning to the house he passed an olive tree which belonged to him, and he noticed that the branches of the tree were shaking in the wind. He thought it was shivering with fever, so he took the cloth and wound it around the trunk of the tree. Then he noticed knots on its root: these he thought were ulcers, so he heated an iron and began to cauterize the knot. He went home after that, and his wife asked about the things. He said: "Here they are, all of them, only the piece of cloth I bought I put on our olive tree, because when I passed it I saw that it was shivering with fever, and had ulcers." When she heard that she went to the tree and pulled the cloth off it. The story became known, and people, now-a-days, when they abuse each other are in the habit of saying, "The people of your village think the trees are sick!"

III. A ploughman went to plough in his field, but could not finish his work before sunset. As the way home was long he decided to hide the plough till the morning, to save the trouble of carrying it back and fore; and having done so, he cast about for something to mark the spot where he had put it. He could find nothing till he looked up to the sky and saw a cloud over the spot where he had hidden the plough. "That's the best possible mark" said he, and went home. In the morning he went back to the field and looked for the cloud, so that he might know where he had hidden the plough: but he could not find it. "By Allah!" said he, "the plough has been stolen!" and he began to weep and lament the misery of his condition. The other fellaḥin gathered around him and asked what was the matter: he told them the story. They began to plough up the whole length of the field, found the plough, gave it to him, and went away. The village

boys to this day have a stock formula of abuse for one another—"Yah! your father hid a plough and set a cloud to mark the place!"

IV. There was a man affected with sickness, who was always making use of papers and charms given him by the *darwishes*, but he derived no benefit from them. One day a townsman came to his village and told him that he ought to go to a town and get medicine from one of the doctors there. So he went to Jaffa and saw the doctor. The doctor examined him, and gave him a prescription, bidding him take what was written on the paper and dissolve it in water, and drink three cupfuls daily, morning, noon, and night, and if it did no good to let him know. The sick man went home, carrying the paper, instead of going to the dispensary to get the medicine, for he thought the lines written on the paper were themselves the medicine. So he macerated the prescription as he had been accustomed to macerate the charms of the *darwishes*, and drank the water as the doctor ordered. He recovered—doubtless from drinking the macerated prescription.

V. There is a village called Burberah in the district of Gaza. In it there was once a humble man who one day wanted money, and was obliged to sell an ox he had. As he was going to the town he passed among olive trees, on one of which was an owl. As he passed her, she cried out "*Ḳûḳ Ḳûḳ*." He thought she was speaking about buying the ox, so he said "Make an offer." The owl answered "*Ḳûḳ*." Said the man: "Five napoleons." The owl said "*Ḳûḳ*." Said the man: "Pay the money." The owl said "*Ḳûḳ*." Now there was a heap of stones beside the tree on which was the owl, and he tied the ox to the tree and began to excavate in the heap, and found inside it a pot full of gold pieces. So he took out five napoleons, returned the pot to its place, and, leaving the ox tied to the tree, went home.

His wife asked him: "How have you been so quick? And where is the ox?" He answered: "I sold him to the owl for five napoleons: she was sitting on an olive tree beside such a road. But my dear, how rich she is! And how generous too—for she gave me as much as I asked, and did not give me the money with her hand, but said, 'Note that heap of stones—dig in it: you will see a pot, and take the price of your ox.' So I dug as she said, and found the pot, and took the price of the ox, and buried the

rest." The wife was angry, and said: "Bad luck to you, lead me to the place you speak of." So she went with her husband to the place, and dug for the pot, and found it, and brought it home. The ox, however, had been stolen.

When they reached the house her husband said to her: "Now you have stolen other people's money. I shall certainly inform against you to the government." The woman was frightened, and considered how to arrange that matter. In the middle of the night she arose, took a pair of pigeons and a pair of chickens, cooked them, and threw them out of the window outside the house. Then she went and waked her husband, saying: "Get up and look, the sky is raining pigeons and chickens!" The man jumped up from his bed, and saw the pigeons and chickens which his wife had thrown out. He wondered greatly at it: then they ate the pigeons and chickens, and went back to bed.

In the morning her husband went and informed against his wife to the government, saying: "My wife stole the money of other people and put it in her house." They sent for the woman and enquired about the robbery. She said: "What day did I commit the theft?" Her husband answered: "The day the sky rained pigeons and chickens." And the officials of the government laughed, and said "The man is a fool"; and they let his wife go.

To this day the people of the villages round Burberah laugh at them, saying, "The people of your village sell cows to owls!"[1]

VI. The villagers of Palestine collect straw and manure, and pile it in heaps outside their houses for fuel for the ovens. These piles are like domes, and are called *shûn*. Once an Egyptian was passing along by certain villages of the fellaḥin, and saw in every one of them a number of these dome-shaped structures. He thought they were erections over the tombs of sheikhs or saints, and kept repeating the opening chapter of the Korân at every place he passed, saying: "In very truth this land is a holy land." A fellaḥ saw him and, recognizing his ignorance, wished to make a mock of him. So he sat in the shade of a tree, and began to tell tales of the saints of the land, and to praise them diligently. The Egyptian believed every word. While he was telling tales

[1] Quite recently some Burberah people made a formal complaint to the government against some persons who imitated the cry of an owl in their presence.

a scorpion crept on the road: the Egyptian said, "What is that?" The fellah said, "That is the Prophet's Mare: do not you see how it is raising its tail over its back? That is an invitation to you to kiss it." The Egyptian believed him, and stooped to kiss the scorpion which stung him in the lip. He cried out for the violence of the pain, and begun to abuse and curse the fellah, and to say: "May Allah curse the Prophet who rode such a mare." So he departed, cursing the land. And the fellah spread the news about the Egyptian.[1]

(*To be continued.*)

THE BEDOUIN OF THE SINAITIC PENINSULA.

(*Continued from p.* 137.)

By W. E. Jennings-Bramley, Esq.

XX. *Peace and War.*

It would be an exaggeration to say that the covenant of salt is so binding on Bedouins that no cases of its violation are known. Men are now and again murdered by those with whom they are travelling, and with whom they have certainly broken bread, as we should say, or, as they put it bread and salt, *'aish u melh*. But the obligation to be true to those with whom you have eaten is held sacred, and treachery in such a case infamous. I believe that very few, if any, cases are on record in which such treachery was premeditated. Where faith has been broken, it has been because a sudden temptation of gain was too powerful to be resisted. Certain is it that if a man refuses to accept your hospitality or eat food with you, you should be on your guard. He probably means you no good. An Arab would look upon such conduct as an absolute

[1] Mr. Baldensperger has recently referred to the first part of this story in one of his communications to the *Quarterly Statement* (1907, p. 13).

challenge and behave accordingly. A guide recognizes his responsibility towards the traveller under his charge, who becomes his *rafik*, *i.e.*, ward, and the guide knows that any act of faithlessness will disgrace him in the eyes of his own people. I have always found them trustworthy if treated with consideration and courtesy. They are, themselves, most punctilious from their own point of view, and expect to be treated courteously in return. It is therefore important that a traveller should know and be guided by their rules of etiquette.

These rules guide them both in such daily matters as the reception of guests, the proper greetings to give, the right answer to make, and all such minor matters, as well as in the important events of their lives: the decision to make a raid, the declaration of war to another tribe. For all these things a Bedouin has rules, and to break them would argue a real lack of good breeding.

I have incidentally said much with regard to the rules they observe in ordinary daily intercourse. With regard to the declaration of war, this depends on the reasons that provoke it. A mere desire to become possessed of more camels is the ordinary motive for a raid, but revenge for murder is also a frequent reason for a declaration of war. In this case the preliminaries are simple. Two men ride into the territory of the tribe with whom war is to be declared and kill the first man they meet. This may be called somewhat rough and ready etiquette. Most attacks however, are nothing but raiding expeditions, where the object is simply looting —not revenge. Lives are taken, if the assailed will defend their property, but the Bedouin are not bloodthirsty, and if their object can be attained without shedding blood, they avoid killing. A tribe in want of camels will call together those willing to go on the war path; it may be 6 or 7, or 30 or 40, since co-operation is absolutely voluntary, and the business of these is to bring back camels, find them and take them where they will, so long as it be not from any friendly tribe. Before a start is made, especially if it is to be a big raid, the Holy man—for each tribe has its Holy man—is consulted, not only as to what days he considers will be lucky fighting days, but whether times are propitious for fighting at all. The Teacha, for instance, have been waiting for such a time more than ten years, and their young men are growing impatient, and saying that they are forgetting how to fight. But as yet the Holy man is not to be moved; the moment, he says, has not come. For many years they

were guided by the counsel of one known far and wide for his sagacity. He is dead now, but his sons live and have inherited some of their father's celebrity, and under their auspices, his grave, near the well in the Wâdy Arîsh, is the scene of sacrifices, at certain times of the year, and camel-races are run in his honour. Many stories are told illustrating the wisdom of El-Willy Mahmûd, as he is called. Here is one:—

"There was once a stone-hewer at the quarries, and this man was very bad. He said, 'When the camels of Mahmûd come down to water, we will feast on the fat white she-camel of which you know.' Hajî Mahmûd was at the time at a well a long way off, at the Maglaba, and he dreamt and saw the face of the stone hewer, and saw it was black. In the morning when he awoke he sent for his camel and rode to the spot where his herd would be watering that day, and there was Benieh, the stone-hewer, sitting on a stone by himself. The camels drank and then rested, waiting for the heat of the day to be over. Before they left, the herdsman milked them and all drank but Benieh, who still sat on the stone and said nothing. 'Why does Benieh not drink?' they asked. 'I have not the wish,' he answered. 'Let him be,' said Mahmûd, and so the camels went with their herdsman, and when the last had disappeared over the hill Hajî Mahmûd went up to Benieh and said: 'Did I not see thee in my dreams? and didst thou not foregather with my people and kill my white camel when I came to the well? May it never happen that thou shouldst meet my camels at the well together; if thou dost mayest thou be turned to stone.'"

The story seems somewhat pointless, unless this pious wish was really fulfilled, but from a Bedouin point of view the belief that Hajî Mahmûd dreamed his dream supplies interest and point enough.

On another occasion Hajî Mahmûd dreamed another dream. A man having lost a camel, went to ask his advice. The camel had been missing six days, so the matter was getting serious. It must be understood that these Holy men do not pretend they can always be helpful. They can only do their best—and dream you dreams of more or less practical utility. In this instance Mahmûd dreamt and told the man to go to a certain wady and there he would find a flour sack which he had lost. Then he was to stand upon it, look round, and undoubtedly he would see his lost camel. The man followed the advice and found it; but to appreciate

the subtleness of the method recommended one must realize that to search the length and breadth of a scrub-covered wady for a sack, before giving your attention to finding the camel, is tantamount to saying, "Look in a garden for a needle, stand on it, and you will see the house you are looking for."

Some tribes have been at war for generations; so long, in fact, that the original motive has been forgotten, and it is impossible to tell now who is aggressor, who defender. Others have had equally long alliances, in some cases offensive and defensive, such as that which exists between the Heiwat and the Terabîn. At the time of writing the relations between two other tribes, the Huitat and Towara, hitherto friendly, although not yet hostile, may be described as strained. Some little time ago a Huitat started for Moalek in company with a relative, a cousin or nephew, I forget which, of Eben Nassar, Sheikh of the Towara. On the road, the Huitat fell upon the other, robbed and killed him. To kill a man in fair fight is one thing, but treachery to a fellow-traveller, one and all considered dastardly, and the crime was deemed one crying for vengeance.

In the olden days, Eben Nassar's course would have been simple. Some of his people would have gone on to Huitat territory and killed the first man they met, and then the feud would have begun in thorough earnest, and might have lasted for a century. But now the Government has constituted itself arbitrator in such cases, and so the matter was to be settled by a fine, Sheikh Eben Nassar having too much at stake, in property he holds from the Government, to do otherwise than submit. This method of settling their disputes is not popular with Bedouins on account of the time it takes. Letters have to be exchanged between Nekhel and the Turkish Governor over the frontier, and meanwhile, if it is a case of stolen camels, the animals have been driven off beyond all hope of finding them again; and if a camel is not seen by the arbitrator, how can he decide its value from conflicting statements?

Some tribes—none, however, on this side of the 'Arabah—raid on horseback, riding their camels until it comes to fighting, and then taking to their horses. They have very little idea of tactics, the fighting is hand to hand, each man trying to get what he can for himself, as there is no question of subdivision afterwards, although the Sheikh will often make up out of his own booty to those of his companions who have been unlucky. I am told that a generous

Sheikh will sometimes thus give away his whole share. An important tribe at war with another—I mean bent on carrying on the feud, not a mere looting raid—will go 200 strong. If it is merely a raid in search of camels, as few as five or six well-armed men suffice. They often prefer, in these cases, going on foot; each man with his bag of corn and rifle, and hiding in the hills of the country they hope to rob, they watch for a good opportunity. The return journey, if they have been successful, is done on the robbed camels. They go on foot because the track of a mounted man is more easily recognized, from the absence of young camels or of people on foot, which always accompany other travellers. I have known a party seven strong bring back 37 camels. Another party, led by Abu Safra of the Huitat, looted 34 camels from the Mâsa, who were, however, not so fortunate in their return raid, only driving off six. We met their unfortunate herdsman. The raiders had caught the man asleep at the well, Suddar, and obliged him, under pain of death, to show them where the camels were grazing. The poor man was in a terrible state when we met him; his face fallen away, his eyes sunk into his head. He had been wandering two days without water. All he could say was, "Gûm. Give me drink," as he rushed at the water-skins. It was with some difficulty we prevented him drinking too much. Once the raiders had taken his camels, if they did not kill him there and then to prevent his giving information, he was safe enough from them, for their one object was to get away as quickly as possible, before they could be followed.

I have had some experience of how a Bedouin will discover that a raiding-party has lately passed along the road. We were in the desert, and the track we were on preoccupied my man very much. It was that of a party on camels, accompanied by no young animals and no men on foot—more than suspicious this! He never took his eyes off the ground, continually picking up odds and ends which seemed to give him much food for reflection—once it was a hair—another time a date leaf—then a newly cut stick which he knew must have come from the low ground across the 'Arabah. He asked me what I thought all this meant, but I had no opinion in the matter. At six o'clock in the morning we came round a sharp corner upon a spot where camels had been tethered the day before. One, we could see, had tried to roll, and in so doing had spilt some of the corn it was carrying. This settled the matter, my

man said—this together with all the other small indications he had gathered—ordinary travellers scarcely ever carry grain for food. We were behind the party and must needs be careful. It was now six in the morning. We could calculate that eighteen hours had elapsed since they had been resting there, for the rock under which the camels had been tethered would only throw sufficient shade to shelter them at midday. They had therefore been there at twelve o'clock the preceding day.

(*To be continued.*)

NOTES ON THE GEOGRAPHY OF PALESTINE.

By the Rev. Caleb Hauser, M.A.

I. *Mahanaim.*—Dr. Grove and Col. Conder have argued that this important place "should be sought south of the Jabbok rather than at the northern site of Maḥneh, where later travellers have placed it." I shall endeavour to show that the identification of Mahanaim with Maḥneh is, nevertheless, correct. The passages in Joshua and 1 Chronicles, in which Mahanaim, as a Levitical city of Gad, is placed on the frontier of Gad and *Manasseh* (Josh. xxi, 38; xiii, 26, 30; 1 Chron. vi, 80) rather point to Jebel 'Ajlûn as the region in which it must be sought. An identification of this place must, however, in order to be decisive, be based on a critical study of the typography of two important events: Jacob's journey to meet Esau, and the battle between the armies of David and Absalom. The typography of this later event shall be illustrated in the following note on the Wood of Ephraim; here we shall review Jacob's movements with strict regard to typographical notices. Departing from Mizpeh (possibly *Sûf*) the patriarch came to Mahanaim apparently on his way to the Promised Land (Gen. xxxi, 13; xxxiii, 17 *sqq.*). At Mahanaim, where he "saw the camp of God encamped" (*Septuagint*), he resolved, in firm reliance on divine protection, to reconcile his brother Esau. Hence the course of his journey was changed; and while his messengers went

to interview Esau and were hastily returning with the mountaineer at their heels, Jacob was leisurely pasturing his flocks and herds toward the Jabbok southwards, which he seems to have reached just as his messengers returned from the land of Seir. That same night, having divided his "people" and property into two companies, and having made an appeal to the God of Abraham and Isaac, he lodged there, remaining on the north side of the Jabbok. But it was *not* the intention of Jacob "to place a natural barrier between himself and the brother whom he feared." Therefore a forward movement began on the following day when Jacob sent his servants with presents for Esau on across *before him*, while he, with his household and property, intended to ford the Jabbok under cover of the night. So, after lodging yet awhile on the northern bank, he arose that night, taking his wives, women-servants, and sons; and, having his property also brought over, passed over the ford of Jabbok with them. A return to the opposite bank is not mentioned. Jacob was left alone, having separated himself from his household, to commune with God, it seems. He wrestled with God on the ridge of a hill near by, and remained the victor. But returning at sunrise to his own near the Jabbok, he was observed to halt on his thigh as he crossed the ridge, which he called Penuel, "the appearance of God," in commemoration of the event. Hereupon the meeting with Esau; after whose departure, Jacob, re-crossing the Jabbok, moved to Succoth, his goal being Canaan. Thus, if we place Mahanaim north of the Jabbok, the narrative is perfectly intelligible; whereas if we assume a site south of the Jabbok, we shall have Jacob sending his servants before him, across the Jabbok northward, with presents for Esau who was coming from the south! Now if it be possible to identify the the Wood of Ephraim in a satisfactory location, that is with regard to Mahanaim as at Mahneh, then this identification must be correct. For another indication of the position of Mahanaim, see the note on *Pentacomia*, No. XIII.

II. *The Wood of Ephraim*, the scene of the battle between the armies of David and Absalom (2 Sam. xviii, 6) should be sought east of Jordan. Here Josephus places it. It was near Mahanaim; for David, who had made his residence there (2 Sam. xvii, 24, 27; xix, 32; 1 Kings ii, 8), stood by the gate-side (2 Sam. xviii, 3, 4) ready *to succour* his people, who had gone out into the conflict. The victory won and Absalom slain, Ahimaaz and Cushi brought

tidings to the king, who, *still waiting there*, was sitting between the "two gates" of the city wall (2 Sam. xviii, 24). Indeed, the people also who had fought the battle returned to Mahanaim *that same day* (2 Sam. xix, 2). Furthermore, the Wood of Ephraim does not seem to have been as near *the Jordan* as some, misled by the phrase "by way of the plain" (כִּכָּר, 2 Sam. xviii, 23), have supposed; for Israel and Absalom had pitched in the Land of Gilead (2 Sam. xvii, 26), to attack Mahanaim from the east, it seems. The Wood of Ephraim must therefore be sought on the slopes of Northern Ajlûn, near Mahanaim. Here, indeed, such woods of oak (2 Sam. xviii, 10) and other trees are still to be found. Conder speaks in glowing terms of "the beauty of the ravines of Gilead between Wâdy Hesbân in the south and the Hieromax in the north," and observes: "Beside clear mountain brooks the horseman wanders through glades of oak and terebinth, with dark pines above" (*Heth and Moab*, p. 193). Here, near the head of Wâdy el-Ghafr (*Northern 'Ajlûn*, pp. 179, 181), is a castle of the same name, the site of Ephron (so Buhl), destroyed by Judas Maccabaeus (1 Macc. v, 46–53; 2 Macc. xii, 27), also the site of γεφυρών (*Polybius*, v, 70, 12). Now *Ephron* and *Ephraim* are one and the same, since the ending *-aim* or *-ain* sometimes interchanges with *-on*. The Wood of Ephraim was therefore along the upper course of Wâdy el-Ghafr, less than 15 miles from Maḥneh, which is Mahanaim.

III. *Seirah and the Mountain of Ephraim.*—The town was probably the first one that Ehud could reach; for "he *escaped* to Seirath. And it came to pass when he was come (*to Seirah*) that he blew a trumpet in the mountain of Ephraim" (Judges iii, 26, 27). This mountain was, without doubt, the spur reaching out from Ophra, the New Testament Ephraim, to the Jordan valley. Another consideration compels us to locate the Mountain of Ephraim just here. Ehud blew the trumpet to summon the Israelites for *immediate service at the fords of the Jordan*. "And the children of Israel went *down with him from the mount* and he before them. . . . And they went down after him and took the fords of Jordan toward Moab, and suffered not a man to pass over" (Judges iii, 27, 28). All this time in the City of Palm Trees, King Eglon's servants, not aware of what had befallen him, were waiting to be readmitted into his presence; and they could not have waited many hours before unlocking the doors of the parlour. On seeing what had happened, they would flee back to Moab, one might reasonably suppose.

Ehud therefore, intent upon preventing them at the fords, cannot have scoured the mountains of the *tribe* of Ephraim. Then, too, Seirah is so connected with the *Pesîlîm* that were by Gilgal (Judges iii, 19, 26) that we may look for the site of Seirah not far from Gilgal. The required site is *Umm Sirah*, some 4 or 5 miles north west of Jericho.

IV. *Mount Halak*, "the smooth (or bare) mountain that goeth up to Seir" (Josh. xi, 17; xii, 7), the extent of Joshua's conquests in Southern Palestine, is generally identified with some mountain in the immediate vicinity of the 'Arabah. Trumbull seeks to identify this landmark with the northern wall of Wâdy el-Fikreh. He says, in *Kadesh Barnea*: "The northern wall of this wâdy is a bare and bald rampart of rock, forming a natural boundary as it 'goeth up to Seir'; a landmark both impressive and unique, which corresponds with all the Old Testament mentions of the Mount Halak." But Joshua's conquests extended farther south. Hormah was one of the cities whose kings Joshua smote (Josh. xii, 14), and according to Joshua, x, 40, 41, the Hebrew commander "smote all the country of the hills and of the south from *Kadesh Barnea* even unto Gaza"; he took all the Negeb (Josh. x, 16). It is admitted that Seir in Deut. i, 44, is not identical with Mount Seir, but was west of the Arabak, *wheresoever* Hormah must be located. And as we may regard the identification of Hormah, or Zephath, with Es-Sebaita satisfactory, we may seek Mount Halak even to the west of that ruin and south of 'Ain Kadîs, or Kadesh. In correspondence with the southern boundary of Judah, as laid down in a recent paper (*Quarterly Statement*, 1906, p. 220), we find suitably situated *Jebel Yelek*, a grand landmark for all who travel from Egypt to the country known of old as Seir. We may, therefore, with much confidence identify the Mount Halak with *Jebel Yelek*. The change from *ḥ* to *y* also occurs in Ḥukkok and Yakûk.

V. *Bayith*.—In Isaiah xv. 2, the Hebrew עלה הבית ודיבן is variously rendered. Duhm and Cheyne (*S.B.O.T.*) read עלתה בת דיבן "the daughter of Dibon goeth up." The text, as it stands, may, however, be translated thus: "He (the destroyer) is gone up to the Temple (*Bayith*), and Dibon (is gone up) to the high places (*Bamoth*) to weep. Over Nebo and Madeba Moab shall howl, on all their heads baldness, every beard cut off." The Temple,

situated in the line of the conqueror's march, being destroyed, Moab (Dibon also named in its place) is represented as ascending to the ancient sanctuaries in the remoter hills and mountains, there to weep and howl. Furthermore, if *Bayith* be the correct reading, the beginning of this chapter appears to contain an effective climax: Ar (*the metropolis*) of Moab is laid waste and brought to silence; Kir (*the castle*) of Moab is laid waste and brought to silence; he is gone to Bayith (*the temple*, κατ' ἐξοχήν) of Moab. On what shall Moab then rely? In distress she flees to the high places. But where was *the* Temple of Moab? Presumably near the metropolis, Rabbah, as the context does not allow of its location *within* the city. We may perhaps identify it with *Beit el-Kurm*, also called *Ḳaṣr Rabba*, the Castle of Rabba. *Beit* is evidently *Bayith*, and *el-Kurm* may be a later addition, occasioned by the vineyards, traces of which Tristram observed in close proximity to the ruins (*Land of Moab*, p. 133). The ruins now visible are indeed those of a temple of later date; De Saulcy describes them as "the remains of a magnificent tetrastylic temple, evidently of the same period as the temple of Baalbek; that is to say, coeval with the age of Adrian and the Antonines" (*Dead Sea and Bible Lands*, Vol. I, p. 294). But Herodian policy, exemplified in the reconstruction and embellishment of the Jewish sanctuary, may have given to Moab what Tristram also regarded as a "magnificent and massive temple." Indeed, from a passage in *De Saulcy* I infer that older material, taken from the previous temple, was used in its reconstruction. After enumerating various fragments of sculpture found among the ruins, and expressing the opinion that these were portions of the temple, De Saulcy remarks: "But there are others also, which cannot have belonged to it. Mouldings and bases of columns of a much more simple style are found here and there. These, with blocks of lava and sculptured fragments of the same material, are evident signs of the pre-existence of buildings on this spot, much more ancient, and most probably of Moabitic origin" (*ibid.*, p. 296). Here, then, are indications of the ancient Temple of Moab, probably destroyed in fulfilment of Isaiah's prophecy.

VI. *Oboth.*—After the Israelites had departed from Mount Hor, they journeyed by the way of the Red Sea, to compass the Land of Edom (Num. xxi, 4; Deut. ii, 8). After entering the mountains near Elath at Ezion-Geber, their journey was a hurried one. Excepting the halt at Zalmonah, near the southern frontier, they

tarried not till they had the Edomite capital behind them: for Punon, the next station, was, as Eusebius and Jerome, identifying it with Φαινών, *Phenon*, inform us, between Petra and Zoar. Consequently the following station, Oboth, must be sought a considerable distance north of Petra. We are therefore safe in identifying the name Oboth with *Ghuweibeh*. At the head of the Wâdy of that name are ruins which are not named on the maps, but are probably also called *Ghuweibeh*. Here, then, was Oboth. The Arabic name preserves the radicals of the Hebrew, but the *aleph* of the latter has become *ghain*. Palmer's map has el-Waibeh.[1]

VII. *Avith*, the city of Hadad, who was the fourth king of the Edomites, probably was situated in the region of *Jebel Ghuweitheh*, south of the Arnon, as Palmer (*Desert of the Exodus*, map of Moab, facing p. 471) has indicated, inserting Avith here with an interrogation point affixed. The notice that Hadad smote Midian in the field of Moab (Gen. 36, 35) may be adduced in support of the proposed identification. The *Notitia Dignitatum*, giving *Auatha* as a military station of Arabia, indicates its position near the Arnon. The name precedes that of *Gomoha* (? Gomola = Beth Gamul). For *Avith* Eusebius has Γεθεά, Jerome *Gitthaim*. In *Ghuweitheh* the radicals of *Auatha*, Avith, are preserved.

VIII. *Shicron*, R. V. *Shekkaron*, was on the northern boundary of Judah's inheritance, apparently between Ekron and Jabneel (Josh. xv, 11). The *Tell es-Sellakeh*, north-west of Akir, is in a suitable position. Passing to *Tell es-Sellakeh* and thence over an intervening mountain to the site of Jabneel, the boundary will follow a more natural course than that laid down on the maps. *Sellakeh* preserves, in slightly different order, the radicals of *Shekkaron*, the loss of the final *n* being of frequent occurrence.

IX. *Mokhrath of the Moabite Stone.*—Tristram states that to the south of Kerak was pointed out among other names that of Mokhrath (*Land of Moab*, p. 88), and remarks, on p. 118: "It has been suggested that Mahk'henah is the Arabic equivalent for Mocrath, mentioned on the Moabite Stone as the place from which Mesha re-peopled Ataroth, after he had exterminated its former Israelitish inhabitants." Other suggestions as to the identification of Mokhrath are not known to the present writer, and this one seems unsatisfactory, since Mahk'henah is not near enough to 'Attarûs. A very

[1] Robinson's Kadesh (el Weibeh) must also have been an ancient Oboth.

satisfactory site is that of *Mukaur* near by, and the loss of the final *t* in the name is not unusual. The name having taken the Latin form *Mochaerus* has survived as *Mukaur*. Compare *Machaerus* = *M'khaur*.

X. *Chesulloth on Egyptian Monuments.*—Agreeing with Col. Conder (*Tent Work in Palestine*, Vol. II, p. 345) in identifying Nos. 53 and 54 of the Karnak Temple list of Canaanite names with 'Afûleh and el-Fûleh respectively, I find *Chesulloth* represented in No. 56, which Prof. W. M. Müller (*Ency. Biblica*, col. 3546) transliterates *Ti-su-ru-ti*, the Tušulti of the Tell Amarna Tablets. Chesulloth is in correct relative position with regard to the names that precede and follow it: Anaharath, the two Ophels, and Nekeb, Shihon, Rimmon.

(*To be concluded.*)

THE ACRA OF THE GREEKS.

By J. M. Tenz.

In the *Quarterly Statement* of January, 1906, and July, 1907, Sir Charles Watson gives an elaborate description of the site of Acra, naming many historical passages in support of his theory, which places Acra within the Haram area.

But within the same area stood the Temple, with its extensive courts to accommodate the great national assemblies at the Jewish festivals, and at the south-east area was a piece of land, 600 feet from the south-east corner to the double gate, and 300 feet in breadth, being the site of Solomon's Palace, as suggested by Sir Charles Warren in the *Quarterly Statement* of 1869–70, page 343.

This view can also be supported by history and exploration.

The wall running round from the double gate by the south-west angle to Barclay's gate would not then have been in existence, but would have been built by Herod when he enlarged the Temple courts.

Herod built the wall from the valley below on a piece of land of

300 feet square: this was believed by the late Dr. C. von Schick to have been the Palace Garden, or Garden of Uzza (2 Kings, xxi, 18).

The Temple, Solomon's Palace (which was also the residence of the kings of the Jews until the time of Zedekiah), the Castle of David, and all the principal buildings, were burnt by the Chaldeans, more than 400 years before the reign of the Asmoneans.

When the Jews returned from their captivity, Zerubbabel rebuilt the Temple, and Nehemiah restored the walls of Jerusalem; but the places where the fort, or House of David (which was first called Zion), and Solomon's, or the King's, High House formerly stood, became only the sites for private buildings; and the Asmoneans, and later, Herod the Great, built their palaces in the upper city, which is now the traditional Zion.

In my short note on page 158 of the *Quarterly Statement* for April, 1906, I adopted the site for the Acra of the Greeks (which was demolished by the Maccabees) on the second hill, north of the lower city. I believe the following historical statements support this view:—

The tower which the heathens had made for themselves may have stood not far from the west wall of the Temple.

Four hundred feet from the west wall, the rock level is about the same as that of the Haram area, which Sir Charles Watson suggested for the site of Acra.

The Acra of Josephus was, no doubt, on the lower or second hill, and over against this was a third hill, but naturally lower than Acra, and parted formerly from the other by a broad valley.

However, in the times that the Asmoneans reigned they filled up that valley with earth, and had a mind to join the city to the Temple: they then took off part of the height of Acra, and reduced it to a less elevation than before, that the Temple might be superior to it (Josephus, *Wars*, Book V, iv, 1).

There were four gates in the west wall of Herod's Temple (Josephus, *Antiquities*, Book XV, xi, 5), but in Zerubbabel's there were only two on that side, one at the causeway, now called Wilson's Arch, and the other farther to the north was discovered below the present level of the ground by Sir Charles Warren, and is called Warren's Gate.

South of Wilson's Arch is the so-called Barclay's Gate, also buried below the present level of the ground, and there was another

at the so-called Robinson's Arch, but the latter two gates were in the wall which Herod had built when he enlarged the Temple.

Warren's Gate was certainly above ground and in use in the time of Josephus; but from the sill of the gate to the valley below (compared with Barclay's Gate, which is on the same level) must have been a depth of nearly 50 feet, which had, no doubt, been partly filled up by the Asmoneans when they reduced Acra, and thereby joined the street of the city to that gate, which must formerly have been approached by steps, or a viaduct across the valley.

At Wilson's Arch there was the gate Barbar, which was on the same level as the Temple court, and was approached from the city by the causeway.

These two western gates would have been most endangered by the garrison in the tower, or Acra of the Greeks.

The heathens made themselves a tower, not in the house of David, but in his city. "David made himself buildings round "about the lower city: he also joined the citadel to it, and made it "one body, David also called Jerusalem by his own name, the City "of David" (Josephus, *Antiquities*, Book VII, iii, 2).

In Simon's time things prospered in his hands, so that the heathen were taken out of their country, and they also that were in the city of David in Jerusalem, who had made themselves a tower out of which they issued, and polluted all about the Sanctuary, and did much hurt in the holy place (1 Macc., xv, 28).

"Jonathan gathered all the people together, and took counsel "to restore the walls of Jerusalem. Also to build another wall in "the midst of the city, in order to exclude the market-place from "the garrison which was in the citadel, and by that means to "hinder them from any plenty of provisions" (Josephus, *Antiquities*, Book XIII, v, 11, and also 1 Macc., xii, 36).

That "other wall built in the midst of the city" was probably a restoration of the old north wall of the upper city, of which Josephus says that it began at the Tower Hippicus and extended as far as the Xistus, a place so called, and then joining to the Council House, and ended at the west cloister of the Temple (Josephus, *Wars*, Book V, iv, 2).

When Nehemiah rebuilt the walls of Jerusalem, he repaired the old wall on the west, south, and east, and also the second wall, which only encompassed the northern quarter of the city.

The first wall within the city would not have been required at that time. Nehemiah has not even named that middle wall; but, after the restoration of that wall by Jonathan, the second hill, or Acra of the Greeks, would have been shut out from the upper market-place, and from all that part of the lower city below the causeway, or now so-called Wilson's Arch, and the Temple which Jonathan had fortified.

"They also of the Tower in Jerusalem were kept so strait, "that they could neither come forth, nor go into the country, nor "buy, nor sell: wherefore they were in great distress for want of "victuals, and a great number of them perished from famine" (1 Macc., xiii, 49).

According to Josephus (*Wars*, Book V, vi, 3), Acra was situated somewhere between the Archives and the Council House, which were on the second hill, west of the Temple.

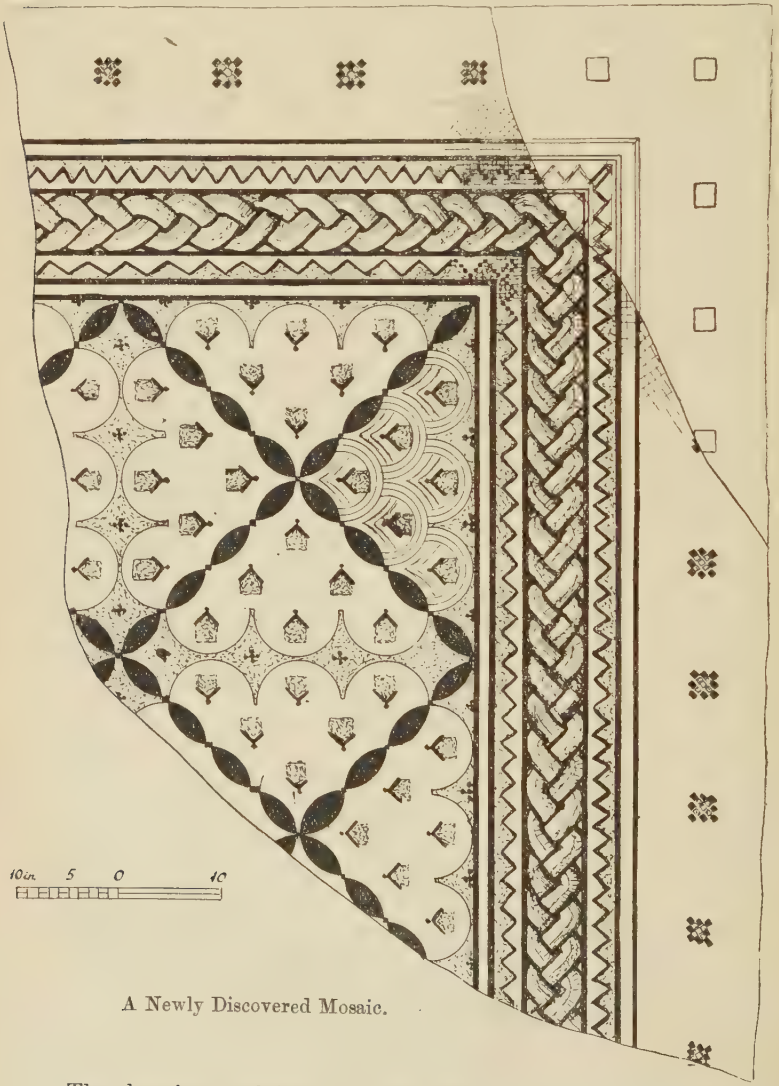
At the time of the Maccabees, there stood within the area now occupied by the Haram enclosure the following important buildings: the King's High House, or site of Solomon's Palace; the Temple, with its extensive courts, and beyond the north wall of the courts of the Temple (part of the foundation of which was discovered on the north side of the platform of the Dome of the Rock by Sir Charles Warren) there was a valley, which was filled up by Pompey (Josephus, *Antiquities*, Book XIV, iv, 2), and at the north-west corner stood the Baris, which was rebuilt later by Herod and named the Tower of Antonia. There could not have been room on the same area for a large mount and fort.

A MOSAIC NEWLY DISCOVERED AT JERUSALEM.

By R. A. Stewart Macalister, M.A., F.S.A.

I forward a drawing of a fragment of mosaic pavement recently found at Jerusalem. It is at the east end of Maudslay's scarp, and north of the Protestant cemetery. It was found by the custodian of the cemetery in making a hut for himself, and is

carefully preserved by him. Close by, to the south, is a flight of rock-cut steps, apparently leading to a cistern.



A Newly Discovered Mosaic.

The drawing sufficiently shows the pattern. The colours are as follows:—

Ground, a dirty white. Marginal dots, black, red, a single

tessera of the ground in the centre. Border lines between the members of the margin, each a single row of black tesserae. Everything marked with *dots* in the drawing, red; everything blacked in, black. The guilloche is of three strands, each of five rows of tesserae, in this order—black, white, two coloured, black. The three strands are distinguished by different tints in the coloured tesserae: in the strand that fills the corner shown in the drawing, the colour is yellow; the next strand, bluish grey; the third strand, red.

In the central pattern an essential part of the device is the way in which the rows of the white tesserae of the background follow the lines of the circles, on whose interlacings the pattern is founded. This I have endeavoured to indicate in one of the quarters of the saltire.

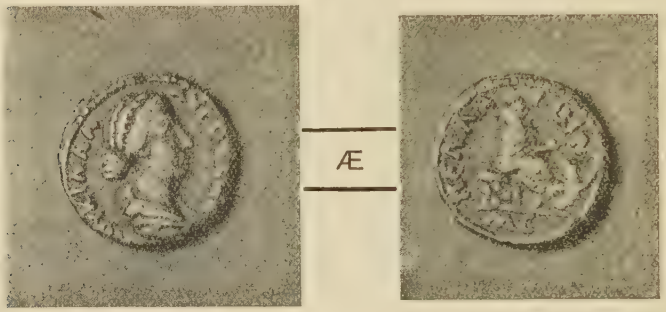
INTERESTING COINS OF PELLA AND BITTÎR.

By Archdeacon Dowling, Haifa.

(1) There seems to be no reasonable doubt that the Arab name of Tabakât Fahl, the Fahl Terraces, represents the ancient Greek Pella. It is situated about 20 miles south of the Sea of Galilee, on the east side of the Jordan, and north of Perea. It was originally a Macedonian city, built by veterans from the armies of Alexander the Great, who settled there. Hence the name, in honour of the Macedonian Pella.

From the coinage of Pella it appears that this city continued to flourish under the reign of Heliogabalus, A.D. 218–222. It was one of the Greek Episcopal cities of the Decapolis in *Palestina Secunda*, the metropolis being Scythopolis = Bethshan.

On March 19th I purchased in Jerusalem a unique bronze Pella coin, with the following inscription :—



Obv. ΑΟΥΚΙΛΛΑ-ΑΥΓΟΥCΤΑ, with bust of Lucilla.
Rev. ΠΕΛΛΑΙΩΝ, with MC in the exergue = Mater Castrorum.

Weight 158 grains Troy.

The coins of Antioch, and of all the cities of the Decapolis, confirm the fact that the Pompeian era was computed from B.C. 64.

Type.—Somewhat similar to the Tyche of Antioch, turreted, seated on a rock, with river god Orontes swimming at her feet, copied from the famous statue of Eutychides of Sicyon, a pupil of Lysippus.

The only Pella Greek coins mentioned by De Saulcy, *Numismatique de la Terre Sainte*, pp. 291–293, are those of the reigns of Commodus, Caracalla and Heliogabalus.

Annia Lucilla, the youngest daughter of Marcus Aurelius and Faustina Junior, was born A.D. 147. She married Lucius Verus, A.D. 164, was exiled to Capreæ by order of Commodus, A.D. 183, and put to death shortly afterwards.

A question arises whether this exceedingly rare coin, unmentioned in numismatic publications, was stamped at *Antiocha ad Orontem* ?

(2) The strong Jewish fortress at Bittîr, about 5 miles south-west of Jerusalem, was captured with great bloodshed towards the end of the eighteenth year of Hadrian, in August, A.D. 135. Its defence lasted three and a half years. Bittîr is associated with Bar-cochab, "the son of a star," who announced himself as the Messiah, A.D. 132.

The present lofty village is of interest to numismatists, for Jewish coinage closed with the career of this famous Bar-cochab.

In February last, three native Moslem families, who own the land near the ancient Castle grounds, began to clear the stones for the cultivation of the soil. This occupied about four months. During this period, undisturbed by the Government, they unearthed one perfect flint spear-head, many broken specimens of spears, one large brass vessel, iron spear heads, iron door rings, stone balls, a quantity of pottery, a large cistern, and another cistern full of wheat. The most interesting discoveries, however, have been the extraordinary number of beautiful silver and copper specimens of Jewish coins. Several of these were current during the First and Second Jewish Revolts. Some of these types are derived from connection with the Temple and its services; *e.g.*, the Temple, and noticeably the star above the Temple, trumpets, lyres, sacrificial vases, the palm tree, vine-leaf, wheat, grapes, are also represented. Many of the samples found within the last five months at Bittîr are now exceedingly rare, and have not been purchasable in Jerusalem of late years. Curiously, only one shekel of the first year has been dug up. The Turkish authorities have now strictly prohibited any further digging. Most of these coins have already been sold to purchasers in New York, and in Europe, at fancy prices. Jewish dealers in Jerusalem, who thoroughly appreciate their marketable value, are naturally unwilling to dispose of them without much unpleasant haggling.

AN ANCIENT GATE EAST OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE.

The Jerusalem architect, C. K. Spyridonidis, sends the following account of an interesting discovery :—

"It seems probable that the present market Khan Ez Zeit, situated to the east of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, was originally part of the great court-yard, which in ancient times lay

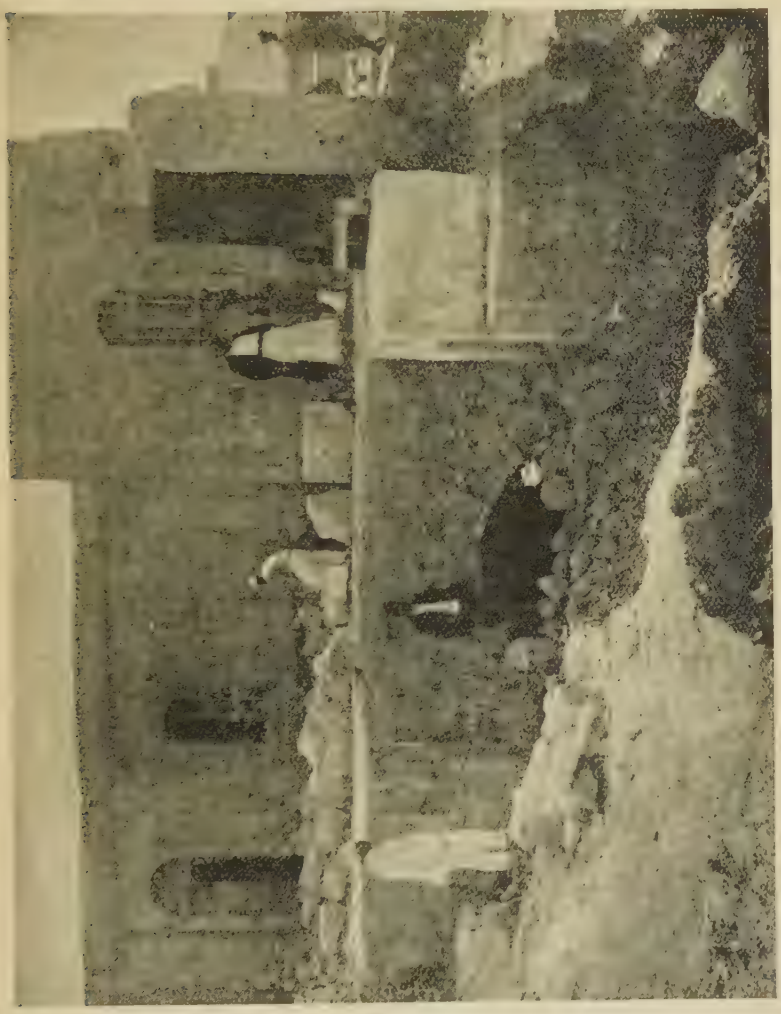
on the east of the great Basilica of Constantine, and through which ran a road and also the course of the second wall of Jerusalem. Portions of the latter are still to be seen in an excellent state of preservation, both inside the Russian hospice, and also at a lower level outside. During some excavations, undertaken on July 10th, close to these, remains of a very ancient gateway were discovered. Of this I forward the measurements in metres. The height of each course of stones was 1·10 metre, and the stones themselves were similar to those at the Jews' Wailing Place. I would remark briefly that this gateway, which lies directly to the east of the Church of the Sepulchre, may have been either one of the three gates of the Propylaia of the Basilica, or else a gateway in the ancient wall of Jerusalem. However, leaving this question open, and supposing that the eastern portion of the 'Ανάστασις possibly separated this ancient wall of the city, we must not forget that it was just at this gateway that, some years ago, was found the Arabic inscription of which an account is given by Father Gelubowich on pages 302 and 303 of the *Quarterly Statement* for October, 1897, and which is also mentioned by Prof. Clermont Ganneau, in *Archaeological Researches*, Vol. I, p. 100."

The Rev. J. E. Hanauer kindly furnishes a photograph (see facing) with the notes subjoined :—

"The picture represents the inside of the gateway. Its outside is still hidden by the piers of the vault seen in the picture. The outer edges of the jamb-corners are ornamented by a vertical moulding, something like the 'egg and dart' pattern. It is only just discernable through a crack in the earth and masonry resting against the eastern side of the gateway. The sill and floor of the entrance have been ascertained to be rock. That this would be the case was to be expected. The gate is in line with the great wall in the Russian hospice. The back of the wall is formed of smaller stones, apparently of later date, like those described in Prof. Clermont Ganneau's *Archaeological Researches* (Vol. I, p. 91, paras. 2, 3), and has also several of the 'little square holes' there described."

We are further indebted to Mr. C. Dickie for the following additional observations :—

"The notable discovery by Mr. Spyridonidis adds another link of proof to the already accepted identification of the well-known



AN ANCIENT GATE EAST OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE.

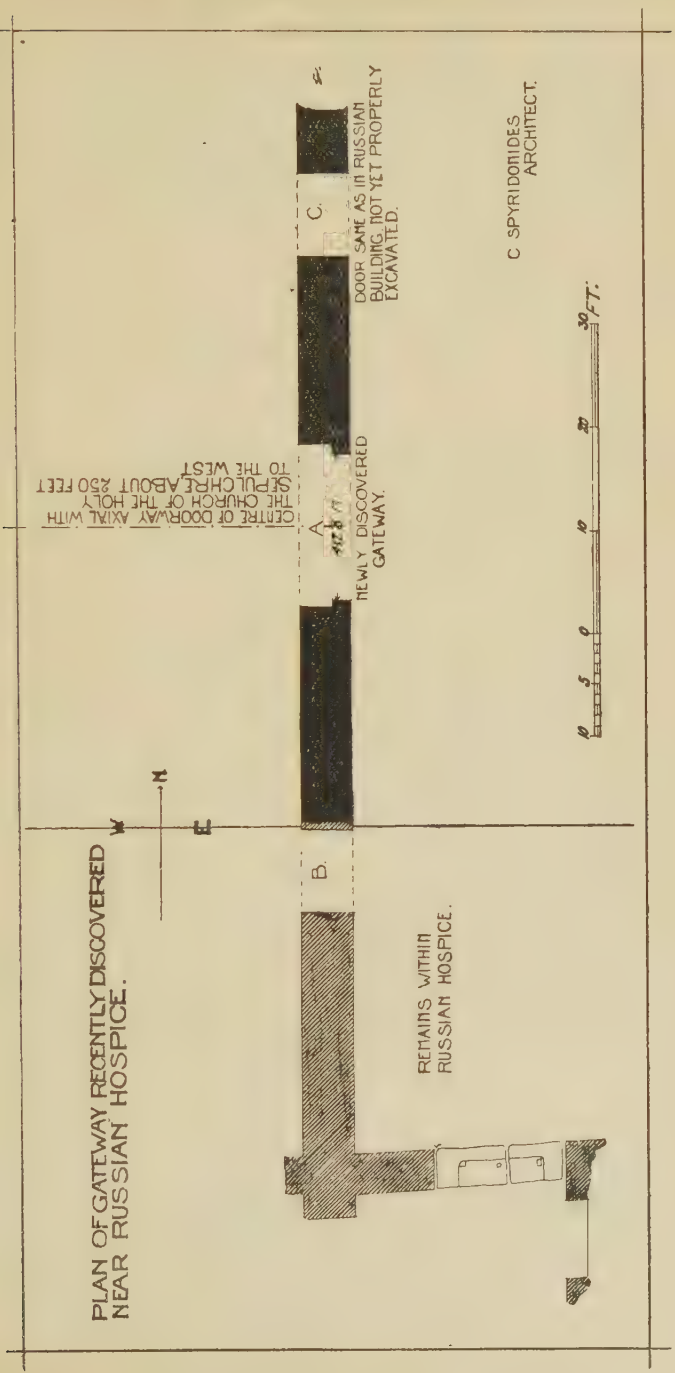
fragment of masonry within the Russian hospice as part of the Eastern wall, either of Constantine's Basilica, or of the enclosure within which the Basilica stood.

"The newly found gateway, A, lies about 22 feet to the right of the one which is in the wall within the hospice marked B. It lies in the same line and, as far as it has been excavated, shows masonry of a similar character. As yet only the inner face has been uncovered. We have no information as to the relative levels of the sills of the two openings. In Schick's records of rock levels at this point, however, he shows a low scarp of equal level, extending along the line of the eastern face of this wall, and Mr. Hanauer writes that the sill and floor are rock. I take it, therefore, that they are both on the same level.

"The opening A measures 4·28 metres, which is very much wider than the opening B. The plan also shows an opening on the right, at C, of a 'newly-found door, the same as in Russian building, not yet properly excavated.' This seems to identify the large opening as the principal of a typical triple entrance. Moreover, Mr. Hanauer reports that on the outer face of the jamb he has noticed a piece of carving, which, from his rough sketch, appears to be the usual classic 'bead and reel' enrichment one would expect to find on the architrave moulding. There is no carving on the jambs of the opening B.

"Mr. Spyridonidis plots this centre opening axial with the Greek sanctuary of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, which is about 250 feet to the west. On plotting the discovery on to Schick's plan, published in *Quarterly Statement*, 1898, p. 144, I find that it practically agrees. Schick's published plan was traced from the original to illustrate certain of the rock contours, and on this account building details were omitted. On his original plan the axial line is shown cutting through an opening in the same position as the one now discovered. The photo here published shows the apex of a later vault within the width of the ancient opening, and this is, in all probability, what Schick saw. It is interesting to note this, and the inference is, that no portion of the ancient masonry was visible at that time, as Schick makes no mention of it in his report.

"The great width of the opening, 4·28 metres (about 14 feet), suggests a gateway to an enclosure as readily as a doorway to a Basilica. Assuming that it is in the centre of the façade, it


PLAN OF GATEWAY RECENTLY DISCOVERED NEAR RUSSIAN HOSPICE.
W
E
N
CENTRE OF DOORWAY AXIAL WITH THE CHURCH OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE ABOUT 250 FEET TO THE WEST
A.
B.
C.
NEWLY DISCOVERED GATEWAY.
DOOR SAME AS IN RUSSIAN BUILDING NOT YET PROPERLY EXCAVATED.
REMAINS WITHIN RUSSIAN HOSPICE.
C SPYRIDONIDES ARCHITECT.
30 FT.

would seem that the whole eastern frontage, extending to a width of about 130 feet, has been practically recovered.

"The completion of the excavation is now so near at hand that it would be well to leave further theory alone, and allow facts to speak when they have been revealed. This much may be said: that at the present moment everything favours the abandonment of the second wall theory."

DEAD SEA OBSERVATIONS.

(*Continued from Q.S.*, 1906, *p.* 234).

By Dr. E. W. Gurney Masterman.

Autumn Visit, 1906.

Visit made November 17th by Mr. C. Hornstein.

Weather.—Hot; slight S.E. wind; sky cloudless. Temperature of air, 80° F.; temperature of water, 75° F.

Surface of lake.—'White line' in broken pieces running N.E. to S.W.

State of level of sea.—Observations taken both at the 'Observation rock' and at pool showed a fall of 15 inches since the previous April.

Barometer.—Jerusalem, 27·5; *'Ain Feshkhah*, 31·5.

General observations.—Plenty of rock and sand partridges seen. One of the latter and also one hare shot. Five gazelles seen near the *'Arḍ ḥajar el aṣbaḥ*. Only person encountered was a man met on the return journey, who was going to *'Ain Feshkhah* to get rushes for mats.

Spring Visit, 1907.

Visit made from Jericho, April 13th.

I left Jericho at 5.25 a.m., rode by the new road for first hour, then turned S.E., crossed *Wady Dabr* at the usual place, and reached the oasis about 8.15.

State of the weather.—In the early morning it was very still; a slight S.E. breeze commenced about 7 and increased to a fresh breeze about 11 a.m. In the early morning there was a good deal of mist over the whole of the East side of the *Ghor*, but later in the day this disappeared, leaving the mountains to the east brilliantly clear and distinct; every detail of hill and valley could be seen from our side of the sea.

Surface of lake.—At first small rolling wavelets; when breeze freshened whole surface was broken by minute waves, but after noon it became smoother again. Faint 'white line,' visible far out in lake, was gradually blown inshore as detached masses of frothy foam.

Surface level.—At both the points of observation the level was found to have *risen* 21 *inches*, which seemed remarkable as the rainfall for the season at Jerusalem was under 20 inches, and there are signs on all sides of its scantiness. For example, there was no water in the *Wady Kelt* at Jericho (though it must be mentioned some was taken off higher up for irrigation). There was also no water flowing from the *Haish el-Mukâm* (*see* previous notes). The *'Ain Feshkhah* pool was deep, and the adjoining spring plentiful.

Barometer observations.—Jericho, 4.30 a.m., 30·78; *'Ain Feshkhah*, 31·22; 11.30 a.m., 31·23. Jerusalem, on return (April 14th, 1.30 a.m.), 27·34.

Thermometer observations.—Jericho, 4.30 a.m., 68°. *'Ain Feshkhah*, 10 a.m., 91·5°; 11.15 (after breeze had sprung up), 85°; 1.35 p.m., 81° (all taken in shade). Temperature of Dead Sea water near shore (1.35 p.m.), 76°.

General observations.—Reeds of district have been burnt over a large area: those standing are in flower and look dry and yellow. Many partridges, Tristram's grakle, starlings, etc. One gazelle seen on our return in *Wady Dabr*. No human being seen from the time we left the old high road to Jerusalem, near Jericho, until near *Nebi Mûsa* on our return. The flowers in the wadies crossed were more numerous than is usual so late in the spring—particularly the curious broom rape (*Philipaea lutea*), which I have never before seen so plentiful.

I returned to Jerusalem by a somewhat long and tedious route. In the beginning I made the mistake of trying to make a 'short cut' by crossing the *Wady Dabr* before it ran out into the plain, and involved myself and companions in a tedious and dangerous

descent which lost much time. At *Nebi Mûsa* I joined the new carriage road, which, as it was then growing dark, I had to follow in all its many windings among the mountains until it joined the old Jericho road, some two miles East of the Khan of the Good Samaritan. The road when finished, which it will be very shortly, will, in spite of its considerably greater length, afford a much better ascent from Jericho than the very dangerous and ill-made road at present in use.

METEOROLOGICAL OBSERVATIONS TAKEN AT TIBERIAS IN THE YEARS 1904–1906 (UNDER THE SUPERVISION OF DR. DAVID W. TORRANCE).

By MR. RASHEED NASSAR.

Monthly Means, 1904.	Barometer.	Att. Ther.	Thermometers.				Rain.	
			Max.	Min.	Dry Bulb.	Wet Bulb.	Inches.	Days.
January	30·890	58·6	56·9	49·9	55·6	50·6	4·42	14
February	30·885	61·6	63·9	53·2	60·8	53·2	3·68	6
March	30·735	63·6	65	54·1	62·5	55·2	2·12	9
April	30·762	70·1	70·6	59·7	69·5	59·9	0·2	1
May	30·753	75·2	84·5	65·1	74·5	63·9	...	...
June	30·697	81·5	95·9	71·6	81·2	70·9	...	...
July	30·594	86·2	92·6	76·4	86·2	73·6	...	...
August	30·633	87·6	93·4	78·4	85·7	74·2	...	...
September	30·747	83·8	88·2		83·2	72·8	...	...
October	30·798	81·5	89·6		80·6	68	2·06	3
November	30·870	69·4	74·4		68·2	60·6	3·05	6
December	30·892	60	63·7	50·7	58·2	52·2	6·09	14
Year	30·771	73·2	78·2		72·1	62·9	21·62	53

Monthly Means, 1905.	Barometer.	Att. Ther.	Thermometers.				Rain.	
			Max.	Min.	Dry Bulb.	Wet Bulb.	Inches.	*Days.
January	30·938	55·7	60·8	44	53·8	48	4·19	12
February	30·929	56·6	64·2	48·5	55·2	48·7	4·02	8
March	30·747	61·1	69·4	50·8	60·3	53·5	4·32	13
April	30·798	68·9	81	58·4	68·1	59·3	0·47	2
May	30·740	76·6	91·3	66·4	76·9	66·3	0·34	1
June	30·714	80·2	94·1	69·6	79·9	70·1	...	...
July	30·597	85·6	100·3	74·9	84·1	74·4	...	...
August	30·608	87·7	102·2	76·8	85·3	75·6	...	...
September	30·681	84·7	98·9	74·5	83·2	72·6	...	...
October	30·797	80·7	92·9	72	79·4	69	0·83	3
November	30·912	71·9	82·7	62·9	71·2	61·4	0·73	2
December	30·883	59·7	64·8	50·9	56·8	50·5	5·98	10
Year	30·778	72·5	83·6	62·5	71·2	62·5	20·88	51

Monthly Means, 1906.	Barometer.	Att. Ther.	Thermometers.				Rain.	
			Max.	Min.	Dry Bulb.	Wet Bulb.	Inches.	Days.
January	30·925	57·6	64·6	49·4	55·4	49·5	2·62	10
February	30·766	60	66	51	58	52·5	4·59	13
March	30·831	63·8	73·3	54	63·2	54·6	1·33	6
April	30·780	67·8	78	57·5	67·6	59·8	1·99	6
May	30·704	73·8	82·2	63·9	73·7	64·7	0·52	3
June	30·685	82·3	95·1	70·5	81·9	70·4	...	...
July	30·577	86·6	98·3	75·5	83·2	74·3	...	...
August	30·612	87·3	99·7	76·9	84·9	75·5	...	...
September	30·731	84	96·3	73·6	81·7	71·7	...	...
October	30·817	79·4	90·5	69	78·3	68	0·7	2
November	30·882	71·9	79·8	63·2	70	61·6	1·3	5
December	30·883	64·8	68·4	55·5	60·8	54·4	1·67	9
Year	30·766	73·2	82·7	63·3	71·5	63·0	14·72	54

Observations to ascertain the Rise and Fall of Lake of Tiberias.

			1904.	1905.	1906.
			ft. ins.	ft. ins.	ft. ins.
Jan.	1	Level of Lake below mark	5 5	4 5	5 0
,,	15	,, ,, ,, ...	5 2	4 3	4 8
Feb.	1	,, ,, ,, ...	4 8	3 11	4 1
,,	15	,, ,, ,, ...	4 6	3 6	3 9
March	1	,, ,, ,, ...	4 3	2 9	3 5½
,,	15	,, ,, ,, ...	4 0	2 9	3 1
April	1	,, ,, ,, ...	3 9	2 11	2 9
,,	15	,, ,, ,, ...	3 5	3 2	2 6
May	1	,, ,, ,, ...	3 5	3 6	2 8
,,	15	,, ,, ,, ...	3 7	4 1	2 11
June	1	,, ,, ,, ...	3 11	4 5	3 1
,,	15	,, ,, ,, ...	4 0	4 8	3 3
July	1	,, ,, ,, ...	4 5	4 10	3 3½
,,	15	,, ,, ,, ...	4 8	5 0	3 4½
Aug.	1	,, ,, ,, ...	5 2	5 2½	3 6½
,,	15	,, ,, ,, ...	...	5 6	3 8
Sept.	1	,, ,, ,, ...	5 8	5 7	3 11½
,,	15	,, ,, ,, ...	...	5 7½	4 1
Oct.	1	,, ,, ,, ...	6 0	5 9	4 3½
,,	15	,, ,, ,, ...	6 0	5 10	4 5½
Nov.	1	,, ,, ,, ...	5 9	5 8	4 7
,,	15	,, ,, ,, ...	5 6	5 5½	4 9
Dec.	1	,, ,, ,, ...	5 3	5 4	4 11
,,	15	,, ,, ,, ...	4 11	5 2	4 9½

NOTICES OF NEW BOOKS AND FOREIGN PUBLICATIONS.

Canaan d'après l'exploration récente. By P. Hugues Vincent des Frères Prêcheurs (Paris, Librairie Victor Lecoffre; 1907). The recent exploration mentioned in the title of this book, as the author states in his preface, includes all the researches which have been carried on since 1890 by the English and the German societies, and under private initiative. Undoubtedly the study of sacred history has been shaken and bewildered by the archæological evidence obtained in late years. Coming to light piecemeal, and at irregular intervals, the new documents did not always reveal their whole import at a glance, but it soon appeared that some strong critical positions were undermined; in other cases accepted views were embarrassed and complicated by the very wealth of relative discoveries. The revolutionary character of the new evidence, as a whole, was gradually appreciated. Those who, on critical grounds, had attained definite ideas on questions of fundamental importance in Biblical interpretation, found it needful to review the whole situation. Still, even to the present, it must be said that the clear and net value of the new materials has not been precisely estimated. Opinions still vary, and it would seem that a searching criticism of the evidence itself is required as a condition of further study. Meanwhile, too, the accumulation of objects and facts has become unwieldy. It is now indispensable that these should be arranged, classified and compared, if not finally, at least provisionally; and that the lines should be traced on which their future examination ought to proceed. This is the task which the writer of the work before us has proposed to himself; an extensive task, even within the limitations which he has prescribed. As rather modestly explained in a leaflet, the author has collected, for the first time, the facts dispersed in numerous periodicals and special works to which from time to time they have been consigned by the explorers. The mere assembling and arranging of the material is a labour of as great value as of diligence; but it is due to the reverend father to add that he has greatly enriched the work by his sagacious interpretations of the facts, and by his occasional handling of the broader questions involved. While the book is a treasury of

details, it is also an intelligent guide to the inferences which reasonably may be drawn from them.

Briefly, the author has digested the evidences obtained at eight sites in Palestine: Tell el-Ḥesy, Tell Zakarîya, Tell eṣ-Ṣâfy, Tell Judeideh, Tell Sandaḥannah, Tell Jezer, Tell Ta'annak, Tell el-Mutesellim. Of the places named, Gezer has furnished a preponderating quantity of the most remarkable materials, and the discoveries of Mr. Macalister there have been very freely drawn on. It is pleasant to note the frequent compliments which Father Vincent pays to the judgment and the industry of this explorer.

The introduction contains a sketch of the history of researches, recent and earlier, and an examination of the general principles underlying the study. Thereafter the facts and the productions are considered under a variety of headings by which all confusion is dispelled. The Canaanite cities, their situation, size, structure, fortifications, building materials, and houses are described in the first chapter. Then notice is concentrated on the sanctuaries, and on the steles, the idols and other apparatus and indications of worship; and the author outlines his views of the evolution of religious practices in Canaan from the age of neolithic man downwards. Next, he treats of the graves and the burial usages of the successive races which have occupied the cities, evincing the important bearing of this branch of the inquiry on the question of races and on the question of religious development. The remains of Palestinian art in the form of broken crockery supply material for a section of remarkable and surprising interest—surprising at least to those who have not sufficiently made themselves aware of the dominating role of pottery in archaeology—remarkable, from the sweeping conclusions which are legitimately reached by the evidence of these despised potsherds. In a chapter of a simpler and less special kind, the author, going back in time, sketches the formation of Canaan and its geological history; and then follow the traces of palaeolithic man from the rudest flints down to the relatively advanced culture of the cavemen of Gezer; that is, to a date, as he estimates, between 3000 and 2500 B.C. The closing section summarises the history of Canaan in its connection with general history, from the earliest ascertained contact with Babylonia and Egypt to the exile; its interest mainly lies in the theory of the continuous sovereignty, active, intermittent, nominal or dormant, but never formally recalled, of Egypt over Canaan until the

conquest by Nebuchadnezzar. This theory the writer shows to be not irreconcilable with the text of scripture, and very effectively cites 2 Kings, xxiv, 7, in its support.

The attitude of the book to controversial and unsettled questions is one of wise reserve. The author has preferred to leave many interesting problems unanswered where the evidence has seemed insufficient. He, indeed, issues repeated warnings against premature generalisations and indulgence in subjective views, and he contrasts, with an approach to satire, the theorists who criticise "en cabinet" and the explorers who search for tangible data in the field. But the book itself, in the severity of its method, is a standing reproof of unscientific speculation. Impressed by the complexity of the conditions in even the most primitive society, the writer espouses no general simplifying scheme of interpretation, such as occasionally misleads the most critical minds. In cases where the explanation does not suggest itself on accepted principles, he (usually) confines himself to stating the plain facts. It must be owned, in view of the interesting exposition of his personal views which he has allowed himself under some particular headings, that this reserve, though quite justified, is sometimes a little disappointing.

The reverend writer's idea of the religious development of Canaan will command attention, as indeed will all those portions of his work in which he has ventured on an expansive treatment of the broader issues. For the neolithic age he finds that the indications suggest a deification more or less vague of "la nature vivante et féconde, peut-être un culte spécial de la Terre." There is no fixed sanctuary, no altar, no idol. "Tout le culte s'accomplit devant un trou creusé à même le sol nourricier, ou devant des roches percées de cupules; on y répand en hommage à la divinité des libations d'eau probablement pure et simple à l'origine, ou de lait, plus tard de vin et de sang. Çà et là le rocher à cupules mis en relation avec une caverne au fond de laquelle des canaux entraîneront le sang et les débris des victimes immolés, implique un premier developpement de la pensée religieuse, et un commerce plus immédiat de l'homme avec la divinité, qu'il cherche en quelque sort à localiser." It is probable, as the author himself acknowledges lower, that the same facts will yield very different arguments to some other interpreters.

With the first Semitic invaders the place of worship is trans-

formed; from the twentieth century B.C. it has acquired "une physionomie très nette."

"Bien en vue sur quelque coteau, à l'ombre d'une futaie ou au voisinage d'une source, une pierre brute ou façonnée en stèle grossière est dressée pour servir d'habitat, tout au moins de symbole à la divinité, conçue sinon d'autre sorte, au moins avec un anthropomorphisme plus défini par les nouveaux arrivants. . . . . Ce qui lui (the Semitic sanctuary) donne, plus encore peut-être que la caverne sacrée ou les stèles dressées autour du bétyle, sa physionomie spéciale, c'est l'introduction de l'idole et de l'autel. . . . . Si une influence extérieure est saisissable, elle vient plutôt de l'Orient babylonien que d'aucun autre point du monde antique . . . . . Sur cet autel les sacrifices sanglants prennent de plus en plus une place prépondérante et les sacrifices humains deviennent fréquents. . . . . ."

The diversity of the local Baals and Astartes he believes to have arisen less from differences in religious speculation than from artistic influences. Under the Egyptian domination, for example, these influences naturally came from the banks of the Nile: "les Astartés se costument de préférence en Hathor."

Against the theory of ancestor-worship, as far as applicable to Canaan, the writer firmly sets his face. "On sait avec quelle assurance une école assez large de savants a prétendu établir sur ces faits (offerings and other attentions paid to the dead) la notion d'un culte des morts, pour en faire découler l'origine de toute religion." In citing some of the arguments of this school, he owns, in some cases, their seeming force, and adds: "on cherchera peut-être un appui pour la théorie en faveur dans la relation constatée à Gézer entre les plus antiques sépultures et certains monuments cultuels: la cupule dans le roc à l'entrée de la caverne à incinération et la pierre levée, peut-être pierre à sacrifices, érigée plus tard en remplacement de la cupule quand la race et le culte changèrent à la fois sans que l'hypogée perdît sa destination." But he denies that such inferences are in accordance with all the facts, and ranges with some skill the reasons for a contrary opinion. Still, it is probable that many readers of the book will hold that a convincing refutation of the theory of ancestor-worship would require greater space than the reverend author has used for the purpose.

In a work issued with the special sanction of the Church of Rome, one looks with interest for some indication of the writer's attitude toward the criticism of the Bible. Although the scope of

the book did not absolutely require a profession of faith on this subject, Father Vincent is not afraid to assert an unreserved freedom of opinion and inquiry. For example, he contrasts the statement of facts in Joshua xi, 21–23, and in chapter xii with the implication of xiii, 1 b, and says: "la difficulté créée par ces antilogies est assez considérable pour que les défenseurs les plus résolus de ce qu'on nomme l'histoire traditionelle, adversaires déclarés et convaincus de tout ce qui sent la critique, se voient contraints d'y recourir pourtant." He therefore favours a radical, though reverent, analysis of the text; in particular he condemns the weakness of compromise. In actual practice he uses with discretion the liberty thus claimed, and rather closely follows the "traditional" reading of Hebrew history in his concluding sketch of the coming of the tribes of Israel into Canaan, and their fortunes to the exile. The passage quoted, and a few others in a like spirit are, however, remarkable as indicating what possibly may become the future attitude of authoritative Roman Catholic thought to the vexed question of criticism.

It is likewise interesting to note that in discussing man's first appearance in geological ages, Father Vincent rejects the evolutionary theory which derives man from a simian ancestor; but, on the other hand, does not hesitate to allow a vast antiquity to our race—100,000 to 200,000 years—and reproves the "parcimonie vraiement un peu trop chiche de quelques exégètes," who would restrict the same to 6,000 or 8,000 years. On this point he holds that the inspiration of the scriptures and the infallibility of the Church are not weakened by any scientific result.

The work is illustrated with over 300 engravings and plates, which immensely increase the value of the text. Altogether, "Canaan d'après l'exploration récente" is a book which the serious student cannot afford to be without.

George Cormack.

The Samaritans—the earliest Jewish Sect—their History, Theology, and Literature. By James Alan Montgomery, Ph.D. (John C. Winston Co., Philadelphia; 1907.) It is a noteworthy sign that America has a general reading public to which books like the present may be addressed. While cultivating a popular mode of exposition for those readers, the author of *The Samaritans* has not

neglected the need of special students; the work is a careful examination of the earlier and the later history, the traditions, the theology, the language, and the literature of the Samaritans. Singularly interesting is the story of the re-discovery of this people in the sixteenth century, and their intermittent correspondence with European scholars since the days of Joseph Scaliger; and there is something pathetic in their delusion, that a body of their brethren was established in England. Probably greater attention will be accorded to the chapters on the origin and the early history of the sect. For the beginning of the heresy, Dr. Montgomery combines the somewhat irreconcilable reports of Nehemiah and Josephus concerning Sanballat, preferring the date indicated by the first author. As a final statement, the narrative of 2 Kings xvii, 24–41, is discounted by what is told of the advance of Josiah in Northern Israel, and by the known conformity of Samaritan beliefs to the Judaism of a still later time. The sectaries are shown to have followed very slavishly, though with great conservatism, the development of Judaic ideas; at each stage, Samaritanism represented an older form of Judaism. Between the Samaritan and the Sadducean doctrines there appear several points of contact; and Dr. Montgomery throws out the striking suggestion that an understanding or a correspondence may have been maintained between the rival priestly houses (originally related by marriage) of Jerusalem and Shechem. In the tractate *Masseketh Kuthim*, the actual points of discord between the two religious bodies are reduced to two: "When shall we take them back? When they renounce Mount Gerizim, and confess Jerusalem and the resurrection of the dead." Afterwards they conformed regarding the resurrection of the dead, but did not thereby bring reunion nearer. Indeed their obstinacy on the other article remained a capital matter, even after the destruction of Jerusalem had relieved it of political significance; since it entailed the rejection of the Old Testament history, and a wholesale reconstruction of the same in the sectarian interest. The Samaritan Book of Joshua is a travesty of the canonical scriptures, on which it is wholly dependent for names and facts, but with which it takes some strange liberties; as the story of the contest between Zerubbabel and king Sanballat, when the Jewish copy of the sacred books was destroyed by fire, while the Samaritan version passed the ordeal unscathed; the same book continues the Biblical record to

the reign of Hadrian. We gather that the Samaritans on the whole were an unoriginal and rather spiritless people, though distinguished by moral earnestness and sincerity to the principles of their faith. Dr. Montgomery's book is at once an attractive and scholarly work, and his conclusions may be accepted as the present position of historical knowledge.

GEORGE CORMACK.

Recueil d'archéologie orientale, Vol. VIII, 1907. The opening portions of the new volume contain the usual proofs of Prof. Clermont-Ganneau's versatility. In § 3 he reviews the recent work by Kümmel on the materials for the topography of Ancient Jerusalem, with special reference to the omissions. He reminds us of the existence of a kind of Assyrian "cherub" sculptured upon the rock in the ancient quarries known as the "royal caverns;" of the fragments of an inscription in Phoenician characters carved above the door of a building of Egyptian style cut out in the rock at the entrance to the village of Silwân; also of the Phoenician inscriptions found in the village itself, engraved in "cartouches" upon rock. "Arab traditions of the land of Moab" (§ 4) comprise a number of interesting observations. The modern topographical name Balḳa is associated with the king Balak. The notes deal with P. Jaussen's study in the *Revue Biblique*, 1906 (see *Quarterly Statement*, p. 79), and are largely philological. It is argued in a convincing manner that the modern terms applied to the curious beliefs relating to rain have an astronomical origin. The rain of esh-Sha'râ is simply that of the dog, Sirius; the rain of es-Semâk is that either of the fish or of Arcturus. In regard to the curious custom of the Umm el-Gheith, he offers the tempting suggestion that the alternative designation ("half a bride") is really "the veiling of the bride." Passing over the Carthaginian Coelestis, Taanith, whom Tertullian calls the "promiser of rain," Prof. Ganneau draws particular attention to the Arabic traditions of the old god Hobal, one of the deities worshipped in the Balḳa in order to procure rain. § 5 deals with legends of the crested lark and hoopoe, the latter of which is prominent in the legends of Solomon. It is a clever piece of work in the scientific study of folk-lore, and had use been made of Dr. J. G. Frazer's *Adonis, Attis, Osiris: Studies in the History of Oriental Religion*, more positive conclusions might have been obtained. § 6 is of interest for the evidence for the gods

Resheph and Babai (בבי), and for the ingenious interpretation of a Greek inscription which appears to refer to the revelation which its writer had received from the deity. Passing over some fragments of inscriptions from the Jewish necropolis at Alexandria (§ 8), the last section considers the relation between blacksmiths, poets, and musicians, suggested by the fact that the words in Celtic are intimately connected. The point lies of course in the Biblical legend of the Cainites preserved in Gen. iv, 18–24.

Revue Biblique, January, 1907. R. Savignac discusses the excavations recently conducted along the Via Dolorosa between the Ecce Homo and the Austrian Hospice, and the sudden growth of a legend applicable to the discoveries. This skilled archaeologist gives a careful and detailed account of the facts, and the description in the *Quarterly Statement*, 1906, pp. 225–231, should be supplemented by his remarks. In the April and July numbers, P. Lagrange contributes an extremely helpful bird's-eye view of the result of the excavations in Crete. In a journal devoted to the Bible, no apology is necessary (as he remarks) for dealing with discoveries which have thrown new light upon the history of the Ancient Orient, and those who have not the leisure to study the numerous works and articles on the subject, will be glad of this excellent sketch, which is illustrated with photographs, plans, and sketches (by P. Vincent). R. P. Savignac, in the July number, describes funerary monuments of the Sinaitic Peninsula. It is a discussion of the so-called *nawâmîs*. The sing. *nâmûs* or *nâûs* is simply the Gr. *ναός*. The suggestion had already been made by Prof. Burkitt (*Ency. Biblica*, col. 4968). Even the Arab lexicons know it in the sense of "cells for monks," as well as "tombs of Christians." In Feirân they owe their origin to the monks and the people who lived there from the end of the third to the beginning of the fifteenth century. But sometimes they are found in places where there were neither villages nor monastic colonies, and in this case they may be of earlier origin, due to the aboriginal inhabitants. The *nawâmîs* are still frequently used as tombs; but we now sometimes find tombs which, though built of unhewn stone, are identical to the old remains. It is a survival of old traditional usage, even as circles of raised stones are still built around a tomb. Thus, "by the side of megalithic monuments, dating perhaps from the very distant ages of stone or bronze, there are to be found

analogues of the present day." Finally, some straightforward remarks (p. 474) on the inscribed stone alleged to be related to St. Stephen's Church (see *Quarterly Statement*, p. 169) show it to be a more than doubtful witness to the conclusions which have been based upon it.

Arab and Druze at Home: a record of travel and intercourse with the peoples east of the Jordan. By the Rev. William Ewing, M.A. (Edinburgh, T. and E. Jack; 1907.) The book is the result of a residence of over five years in Palestine, and gives a first-hand account of a still largely obscure people, of a picturesque country, and of a deeply interesting sect. It is a true field for the medical missionary, and we read of the extraordinary tales which spring up among a simple and primitive people from the clever cures of a kind-hearted doctor. The far-famed fields of Haurân, with its traces of once beautiful cities and prosperous villages, is rich enough under an ignorant peasantry, but the possibilities are almost endless (p. 10 *sq.*). At the black Nowa local tradition associates the district with Noah; his grave is still pointed out both there and at Zahleh in Mount Lebanon. Like the numerous tombs of Jonah, the variety of traditions at the present day give some idea of the ever-fruitful imagination of the people of the East. Memories of Job linger more or less over all Haurân (p. 17 *sq.*), and a recent famous benefactor, Sheikh Sa'ad of pious memory, is now contesting with the old patriarch for the veneration of the worshippers. The savage and forbidding wilderness of el-Lejâ' has been noted from of old as a refuge for fugitives; it is probably the ancient Trachonitis. The great ruins of Zor'a point to some famed city, but Mr. Ewing is not certain that this, rather than its southern rival, Der'at, is the Edrei of Bashan. In Damet el-'Aliâ one enters among the Druzes; fresh guides were necessary, for between the Druzes and the outlying neighbours there is little affection. The hospitable sheikh as usual threw the first cup of coffee upon the fire as a libation to the tutelary spirit of the house, and drank the second to assure his guests of his honesty (p. 39). Constantly we come across sites which would yield a fine harvest to the lucky excavator. Few places are more impressive than Kanawât, with remains of temples themselves built upon earlier holy sites. Mr. Ewing observes a remarkable facial likeness between the Jews and the people east of the Jordan, and wonders whether the

eastern tribes of Israel may not have mingled freely with their neighbours, and thus become gradually alienated from their kin, which were already separated from them by the mighty gorge of Jordan (p. 62 *sq.*). Chapter vii deals briefly with the history of the Druzes, and interesting parallels between them and the old Israelites are noticed; they are of sociological and anthropological rather than of any historical value. The numerous popular books of life and travel in Palestine prove the exhaustless fascination of the subject; but for vividness of detail and excellence of illustration, Mr. Ewing's record ranks among the best, and his thoughtful and suggestive description deserves to be widely known.

Solomon's Temple: its history and its structure. By the Rev. Shaw Caldecott, M.R.A.S. (London, Religious Tract Society; 1907.) The book is an attempt to trace, first, the fortunes of the Temple of Solomon to the time of its destruction by Nebuchadnezzar, and then to describe in detail its structure and contents. Prof. Sayce contributes an introduction commending a work which shows "how much there is still to be discovered in the Old Testament by those who will study it without prepossessions and untrammelled by commentaries"; and, although we offer no opinion upon the author's theories in the second part of his book, there is no doubt that the first part, owing to his very independence, can only be read with caution. Many readers will doubtless be glad to have the simple narrative which Mr. Caldecott offers them, and will not object to the violent manner in which the new chronological scheme of the Book of Kings has been obtained.

Phönikische Sprachlehre und Epigraphik. By J. Rosenberg. The idea of including a Phoenician grammar among the series of text-books published by Hartleben, Vienna and Leipzig, is sufficiently novel, and to those who are interested in the subject may be recommended the small book, which contains much interesting and useful matter. It is, however, to be used with great caution, and contains many details which are sometimes incorrect and often speculative.

S. A. C.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

(1) *The Coracinus of Josephus.*—In the article on "the site of Capernaum" in the July *Quarterly Statement* of the Palestine Exploration Fund, Dr. E. W. G. Masterman (p. 223) admits that "by his reference to the Coracinus fish, Josephus has introduced what has seemed to many a difficulty in identifying the spring to which reference is made with the fountain called after *Sheikh 'Ali edh-Dhather.*" This admission has been made because the *Coracinus* has been supposed to be the catfish known as *Clarias macracanthus* (not "*Charias macrocanthus*"). The *Coracinus* of the Ancients, however, is by no means a *Clarias*, but a very different fish. From the records of it by Aristotle, Pliny, Martial, and Gillius, this is evident, as Cuvier has proved. The identification of the *Coracinus* by Lortet and others is entirely opposed to the old record. I have referred to this subject in a recent article in the Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution for 1895 (p. 518).

Species of the genus *Tilapia* are, however, found in springs near as well as in, Lake Tiberias, and several species (*T. Galilaea*, *T. Simonis*, *T. Flavii-Josephi*) and a *Paratilapia* (*P. sacra*) have been recorded by Tristram (*F. & F. P.*, 166–168) as being found in the fountains called Ain Mudawarah, Ain et Tin, and Ain et Tâbighah. Doubtless one or more may be found in the *Birket Sheikh Ali edh-Dhather*. These are very much like the famous Bolti or Bulty (*Tilapia nilotica*) of the Nile, and this identification would be corroborative of Dr. Masterman's contention as to "the site of Capernaum."

THEO. GILL, *Washington.*

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(2) *Zion.*—In the *Quarterly Statement* of July, 1907, Sir Charles Watson's interesting article on "The Site of the Acra," contains the following statement: "The name Zion was more specially applied to the Temple hill, and, when the latter hill became a fortress, it was called the fortress of Zion. The transfer of the name of Zion to the western hill does not appear to have taken place until after the destruction of the Temple by Titus."

Some proof for this is to be found in the daily prayer of the Jews, called שמנה עשרה (or the eighteen blessings), which, in the opinion of all the Rabbis, was composed at the time of the Babylonian captivity, consequently many centuries before Titus. One finds there the following benediction: ברוך אתה ה׳ המחזיר שכינתו לציון, "Blessed be thou Eternal, who shalt bring back thy dwelling on Zion." Everyone knows that the Israelites, in using these words, "dwelling of the Eternal," always wished to indicate the Temple. Zion was therefore the Temple hill.

Further than this, the same prayer contains a passage added later than the destruction of the Temple by Titus, and which is repeated only on the ninth of Ab—a passage in which occur these words: נחם ה׳ אלהינו את אבלי ציון ואת אבלי ירושלם, "Console those who mourn for Zion and those who mourn for Jerusalem," in which it is evident that by "Zion" is meant the Temple, otherwise the same thing would be said twice. This shows that even after the destruction by Titus the Jews still designated the Temple hill by the name of "Zion."

ARMAND LIPMAN, Orleans.

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(3) *Babylonian Chronology.*—Some new cuneiform texts have recently been discovered and edited which throw new light upon the chronology and history of Babylonia. Here it is only necessary to refer to Mr. L. W. King's *Chronicles concerning Early Babylonian Kings* (London, Luzac, 1907), which bring valuable information to bear upon several contested points. In the first place, it is now evident that the first Sargon did not cross the Mediterranean to Cyprus; a better text has come to hand, proving that he crossed the sea "in the East." Mr. Hall, *Oldest Civilization of Greece*, p. 113, had previously shown that the archaic cylinder found by Cesnola at Curium, with its reference to a deified Naram-Sin (Sargon's son), was scarcely older than the seventh century, and he suggested that Sargon merely coasted along the Palestinian littoral. Next, Sargon's empire tottered while he himself was on the throne; the kingdom was thus hardly very firmly established, and it is very noteworthy that a Babylonian chronicle passes immediately from Naram-Sin to Dungi. It would be strange if so long an interval as

fourteen or fifteen centuries separated the period of Sargon from that of Dungi and his father Ur-Engur, and Prof. A. T. Clay (*Light on the Old Testament from Babel*) has recently observed that the pavement of Ur-Engur at Niffer rested immediately upon the two-course brickwork of Naram-Sin, thus suggesting that there was on great interval between those rulers. Consequently, it may be necessary to reduce the date of 3800 B.C. for Sargon of Agade (King, p. 17).[1] Still more interesting is new evidence correlating the Khammurabi dynasty with that which follows. By converging lines of reasoning, it appears that its date must be brought down lower, and the famous king himself should now probably be assigned to the twentieth century. It is obvious that these results are not confined to Babylonia alone; they bear upon questions of Egyptian chronology, which in turn are closely linked with the archaeological history of Palestine and Crete. Babylonia at present holds the key to the wider problems of the Ancient East, and the new discoveries, with the natural probability of fresh ones in the future, only emphasize the necessity of applying the results from one department of research to another, only with the greatest caution.

S. A. Cook.

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(4) *Inscribed Objects from Gezer.*—The stamped jar-handle described above by Mr. Macalister (p. 264) is noteworthy for its beautifully clear-cut script which, as he correctly remarks, is against any hypothesis of Greek influence. The form of the ט is particularly interesting. On the Moabite stone (in the name Ataroth), on the inscriptions of Panammu and Hadad found at Zenjirli, and in the old European forms—Greek and Etruscan (viz., Formello)—two cross-bars are found, more or less at right angles to each other. The form with one bar occurs notably in the Zenjirli inscription of Bar-rekub, second half of the eighth century, and in the later inscriptions from Nerab, south-east of Aleppo. These two are Aramaean, and it is singular to observe that the monumental script on the Gezer jar-handle finds its closest analogy in the former. Obviously we cannot draw any sweeping inferences from this,

[1] See also Ed. Meyer, *Sumerier und Semiten in Babylonien*, p. 10, n. 1 (*Abhandlungen*, of the Berlin University, 1906).

although it is sufficient to warn us that the lettering may not represent any Hebrew or even Semitic name, but that of some foreigner, *H-y-r-k* (? cp. the earlier Duš-ratta). The presence of an *h* in this case would be an argument against any Assyrian derivation.

In regard to the inscribed weight (p. 266), it may be noticed that Prof. Barton published one bearing the identical enigmatical lettering in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. XXIV, 1903, pp. 384 *sqq.* This weighed 120 grains, a little more than 7½ grammes, but was probably once slightly heavier. Mr. Macalister's weight proves the reading פִּים, for which Prof. Barton had ventured the very tentative suggestion that it was an abbreviation for (לְ)פִי מִ(שְׁקָל), "according to the (standard) weight." At all events, the doubts previously raised by Lidzbarski (*Ephemeris*, ii, 149) regarding the genuineness of the object, now seem quite unnecessary.

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